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Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-060
Wednesday
31 March 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

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CIS Deputy Heads of Government Meet in Minsk

WS3103091793 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] In Minsk, a meeting of deputy heads of the CIS governments was held under the chairmanship of Russian Vice Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin. Current issues and the agenda of the future 1993 meetings of the Council of the Heads of States and the Council of the Heads of Governments of the CIS were discussed. Aleksandr Shokhin noted the low level of representatives: only three vice prime ministers—from Russia, Armenia, and Moldova—came to Minsk. The Russian vice prime minister was received by Vyacheslav Kebich.

Shokhin Questions Level of Participation

LD3003220393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2006 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Larisa Klyuchnikova for TASS]

[Text] Minsk March 30 TASS—A conference of Commonwealth government representatives opened here today at the Minsk Commonwealth headquarters to be chaired by Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin.

The agenda includes the following items: on draft provisions on the coordination-consultative committee, on draft provisions on the Commonwealth executive secretariat and on the approval of agenda plan for Commonwealth state and government heads' meetings in 1993.

Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich assured those present the proposal of the Belarusian Government on creation of the Russian, Kazakh and Belarusian economic union does not run counter to the Commonwealth existence.

Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin expressed bewilderment over the presence of vice-premiers from only four Commonwealth states and demanded the confirmation of powers of other representatives. With the exception of Russia, Belarus, Armenia and Moldova, other Commonwealth participants have sent to the meeting their permanent representatives to Commonwealth coordinating bodies.

The head of the presidential staff's department for Commonwealth Affairs represented Kazakhstan. The Uzbek representative took a special stand at the conference, voicing the need to give the right to the permanent representative to participate in the future consultative-coordination committee with the rights of the government member.

As known, the latest meeting of Commonwealth government heads reached an agreement that only vice-premiers can participate in the committee with such rights.

CPSU Congress Fails To Unite All Former Communists

MK3003105493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 1

[Anna Ostapchuk report under the "Opposition" rubric: "The Uphill Struggle for Unification. Russian Communists Were Observers at the CPSU 29th Congress"]

[Text] On 24 March, nearly one month after the requisite documents were submitted, the collegium of the Russian Justice Ministry unanimously voted for the Communist Party of the Russian Federation to be registered.

Held simultaneously with the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation was the 29th Congress of the CPSU—or, rather, a congress of the Union of Communist Parties-the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (UCP-CPSU). From 26 to 27 March 416 delegates representing communists of all the former USSR republics except Belarus gathered in Moscow's Orion movie theater. This was primarily because in many of the new independent states the communist parties have not yet been legalized and relieved of the burden of underground existence. The largest delegation—that of the Russian Federation—comprised 247 delegates from 56 regions of the Russian Federation; 80 people represented Ukraine, nine Moldova, while the Baltic states, Central Asian, and Caucasian republics sent several people each. In some of the republics such neocommunist groups as unions of communists operate, albeit semi-legally, along with other parties; it was they that accounted for the bulk of the congress' delegates. For example, the Union of Communists of Latvia [UCL] is the republic's sole communist organization. Although the UCL intends to register, it is, according to bureau member I. Lopatin, willing "to search for other methods of operation, too." The UCL considers Alfred Rubiks, who was also elected as a delegate to the 29th congress, as its leader.

The congress adopted the Declaration of the Constitutionalization of the UCP-CPSU, and also the Union's rules and program, and elected the party's executive organs, the Council, and the Executive Committee. Oleg Sheinin, former CPSU Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, was elected head of the Executive Committee; the council included figures well-known among the opposition at large such as Yegor Ligachev, Valentin Pavlov, Teymuraz Avaliani, and others.

Still, it can hardly be said that the congress performed the task its organizers set themselves—to bring together the communist movement of the former USSR and various currents within it. The largest and already legalized communist party—of the Russian Federation—merely sent observers to the congress, and it can be predicted that it is unlikely to embrace the policy documents adopted by the congress simply because it has its own, if for no other reason. Furthermore, the UCP rules are unlikely to be attractive for the new communist parties called upon to join the union. For instance, they provide for 10-percent deductions to the center from regional organizations, and in general, according to

Grigoriy Rebrov, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party, "the union has not rid itself of the unitary principle of party organization."

Observers from the Russian Communist Party were also disgruntled at the congress' resolution which declared the newly created UCP the inheritor of all the property of the banned CPSU.

Some observers, who believe that the 29th congress was in many respects well ahead of the unification trend, have suggested that a roundtable of communist parties be held, expecting that by that time many of them will be able to attend it legally. Most delegates, however, did not endorse the idea.

CPSU Analysis Claims Wests Seeks Yeltsin's Removal

MK3103113493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 6, 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Vladimir Abarinov report under the rubric "Diplomacy": "Before Vancouver: 'With Yeltsin or Without Him.' Clinton Administration Makes New Emphases"]

[Excerpts] Shortly before the Russian-American summit, President Yeltsin is getting ever more assurances of support from Washington. In addition to President Clinton, who called a special press conference on 23 March, such pledges of support were also voiced by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Madeline Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and Lee Hamilton, House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman. The American Administration sees Boris Yeltsin's plebiscite proposal as a sensible step for a democratic state. It is emphasized that utmost support for reforms in Russia accords with U.S. national interests. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, the organizing committee of the CPSU Central Committee has published its own analysis of the situation in Russia. A considerable amount of space in it is devoted to relations with the "Seven." Authors of the analysis maintain in particular that "Yeltsin at present has stopped suiting Western countries, and, while demonstrating official support for Yeltsin, they will probably be undertaking attempts to have him removed and replaced by a more flexible person, one to their own liking [svoy chelovek], a champion of the very same policy of turning Russia into a raw-materials appendage."

Meeting of Leaders of Agro-Industrial Complexes Closes

LD3003180393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1626 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By KAZTAG correspondents Omurbek Yerkimbayev, Anatoliy Shevelev for TASS]

[Text] Akmola March 30 TASS—A meeting of the leaders of the agro-industrial complexes of the former Soviet republics closed on Monday night [29 March] in the Kazakh city of Akmola.

The heads of the delegations expressed their interest in preserving the traditional economic links and came out for the expansion of trade in foodstuffs.

They issued a communique, which underlines the expediency of joining efforts in the field of investments, banking, information, science and technology.

An intergovernmental council was formed and its statute was approved unanimously. Baltash Tursumbayev, Kazakh minister for agriculture, was elected as the council chairman.

President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan praised the results of the Akmola meeting. "I believe we will stimulate normal cooperation between our countries," he said at the press-conference.

Russia Urges CIS Repay Oil Debts, Support Production

LD3003131393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1135 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Russia has been practically subsidising CIS countries with supplies of oil and gas in 1992, according to Chairman of the Committee on Oil Industry Viktor Ott.

Last year Russian supplies to CIS amounted to 16 billion dollars according to world prices. But Russia got back only 0.8 million dollars worth of equipment for fuel and energy complex which comprised 30 per cent of deliveries envisaged by intergovernmental agreements, he told a conference of CIS oil and gas ministers on Tuesday.

CIS oil processing plants owe Russia over 34.5 billion roubles and urgent measures are to be taken to repay the debts, Ott said.

Several Siberian oil-producing enterprises proposed that CIS countries earmark additional 47 billion roubles as investments into Siberian oil. They also proposed to deliver additional material resources worth 16 billion roubles and earmark six billion roubles for the construction of the necessary infrastructure, according to Ott.

Urgent measures are necessary to support the decreasing oil production in Russia, according to Russian Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik. He said that a 38 per cent increase in energy consumption of the Russian gross national product during the last three years further aggravated the situation.

International Fund Set Up To Save Aral Sea

PM3103084993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 93 First Edition p 2

[Vladimir Ardayev report: "Central Asian Heads of State Concerned by Aral Sea Problem"]

[Text] Kzyl-Orda—The first conference of the heads of Central Asian states and Kazakhstan on problems of the Aral Sea has taken place in Kzyl-Orda. As has already been reported, Presidents A. Akayev, I. Karimov, and N. Nazarbayev; Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet Chairman I. Rakhmonov; and Russian Vice Premier G. Khizha participated in it.

As N. Nazarbayev said, the participants dealt basically with organizational questions, in particular, with questions of the organization of the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea, which was set up at the Tashkent meeting of heads of state. The basic documents summing up the conference were the Agreement on Joint Actions To Resolve Problems of the Aral Sea and the Area Adjoining It and on the Ecological Rehabilitation of the Aral Sea Region and Guaranteeing its Social and Economic Development, and the Statute on the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea. The fund's board has been elected. N. Nazarbayev became its first president.

Apart from this, the participating heads of states sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali asking him and all people of good will to "take the necessary measures to guarantee the ecological safety of people living in the Aral Sea area, and implement projects and programs to save the Aral Sea and rehabilitate the natural environment of its basin."

As far as the programs themselves are concerned, to all appearances, there is for the moment complete uncertainty about them, and the heads of state are also not of one mind on finding ways to resolve the Aral Sea's problems.

The fund's founding states will appropriate capital for saving the Aral Sea. A quota has been established: 1 percent of national income, which as a whole exceeds 10 billion rubles a year.

Caucasian Leader Warns of Danger of Georgian Invasion

OW2903131293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Caucasian parliament, the legislative organ of the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus (CPC), warned of the threat of another invasion of Georgian troops into South Ossetia. Appearing at a meeting with representatives of Caucasian ethnic groups in Moscow, Yusip Soslanbekov said that in this case the CPC will offer South Ossetia assistance similar to what it is giving Abkhazia.

According to Soslanbekov, the CPC is currently trying to settle the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and complete the theoretical development of a mechanism for settling international conflicts. He said that this plan, when finished, will be presented to the leadership of the Russian Federation.

Concerning the political events in Moscow, Soslanbekov said that "there is a fully substantiated fear that the situation which has emerged could lead to civil war, which followed after the 1917 revolution."

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 31 Mar

LD3103065293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0601 GMT 31 Mar

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—All newspapers continue to comment on the results of the 9th Congress of the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. The press gives different evaluations of the event.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, in an article headlined "The Cobble-Stone is the Tried-and-Tested Weapon of the Parliamentarian?", analyses the post-congress political situation in the country. The editor's view is that "the people's deputies of Russia have done everything possible to drive the political situation in Russia into a blind alley and bring it up to the verge of upheaval. When making a decision on the main subject of the congress—the April 25 referendum—they did their best to make provisions for a non-risk enterprise for themselves and minimum chances for the president".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) believes that the congress decision to hold a referendum did little to assuage the intensity of political passions in society. Having emphasised the contradictory and one-sided slant of the questions brought up for the referendum, the newspaper notes that one should not give up as hopeless cases either the Supreme Soviet (standing legislature) or the congress (the supreme legislature) which gave the green light to irreversible transformations in Russia".

It is also quite clear, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out, that to a large number of people in Russia "Boris Yeltsin has been and remains the last and only hope along the dramatic road towards the recreation of Russian statehood.

"Those who are pressing for his resignation either fail to realise or pretend not to understand the deleterious effect of the marked imbalance of forces that has taken shape. Therefore, the newspaper concludes, "we must cast our ballots for a strong and stable Russia, not against the president or against the deputies". [quotation marks as received]

PRAVDA lays emphasis on the international aspects of the event. Judging by foreign media comments, the newspaper writes, "in the west the developments in Russia are viewed quite differently than by the Russian democratic press and television intoxicated by their own courage".

PRAVDA gives the opinions of Western countries' newspapers which qualify the Russian president's actions "which provoked a crisis and gave rise to counteraction by the Supreme Soviet (parliament), the Constitutional Court and, later on, by the Congress of People's Deputies", as an "encroachment upon the Constitution and the state foundations, i.e. as an attempt at coup d'etat".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) reports reaction to the Russian defence minister's statement made in Brussels that Russia suspends the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic states. The newspaper points out that the statement gives rise to a negative reaction not only on the part of the Baltic states but Western countries as well. The newspaper's opinion is that the Baltic states associate the turn in the Russian policy "with a change in the internal political situation in Russia."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports that Popular Front leader Sangak Safarov and Faizali Saidov, one of the Popular Front's field commanders, were killed in Tajikistan. The newspaper supposes that they were killed as a result of strife. If this is so, the newspaper emphasises, "it is not ruled out that there will be shoot-outs and armed clashes between the groups of the two leaders soon".

ROSSIISKIE VESTI, newspaper of the Russian Government, carries brief interviews with prominent political scientists, economists, lawyers and publicists about the leaders of the country representing the three branches of power: legislative, executive and judicial.

Georgiy Satarov pointed out that "Boris Yeltsin's stand is reform-oriented. But will he be able consistently to implement the idea of a presidential republic?".

Yevgeniy Yasin believes that "Viktor Chernomyrdin has a knack at recognising his errors and rectifying them". Sergey Solovyov remarkes: "To speak about Ruslan Khasbulatov is a futile thing to do because he is heading an incapable agency".

Otto Lacis adheres to the convinction that Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy "may speak on behalf of the people only when he acts in concert with the president".

Speaking about Valeriy Zorkin, chief justice of the Constitutional Court, his colleague lawyer Andrey Makarov stated that "he has not only disappointed the expectations of people but also buried their hope for the building of a law-governed state".

The newspaper TRUD, under the headline "The Russians Die Out", carries data issued by the State Statistical Committee on the demographic situation in the country.

The committee points out in particular that in "January-February the number of people who died was 50 per cent more than that of new-born. The natural increase in population keeps on only in Daghestan, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmykia, Karachai-Chircassia, Tuva, Chechnya, Yakutia, and Tyumen region".

Commentary Views Summit, Expected Aid From U.S.

LD3003214593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov; read by announcer]

[Text] Effective economic aid to Russia from the United States and other Western countries is one of the major items included into the agenda of the coming Russian-American summit in Vancouver. This is a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov:

As the saying goes, a friend in need is a friend indeed—it applies best to the present state of Russia's relations with the United States and other Western countries. Russia has ceased to be an adversary. It's become a partner and this has enabled the West to switch the resources previously spent on armaments over to civil projects. For Russia, however, the road to democratic reforms has proved a hard one, and it's found itself to be in need of help from other countries.

This, you may say, will become a moment of truth when, at their meeting in Vancouver, Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton exchange views on economic cooperation between Russia and the United States. It should become clear whether the present administration in Washington is ready for more energetic actions in support of the reforms in Russia, for concrete measures which were promised by the leaders of the previous administration but largely remained mere declarations of good intentions.

During the recent election campaign in the United States, President George Bush was even criticized by the Democrats for being too slow in giving concrete support to the Russian reforms, and now at the summit in Vancouver the new American Administration is expected to announce its own program of aid to Russia.

According to preliminary reports, it provides for the building of houses for troops leaving Eastern Europe, the establishment of a fund for small businesses, credits to update the oil and gas industry, and for other measures. Measures have been also prepared together with the other countries, members of the Group of Seven, to defer payment by Russia of its nearly $80 billion foreign debt and to give up to $20 billion worth of financial aid.

There's another favorable factor as well: growing understanding in the United States of the importance of assisting the reforms in Russia for the Americans themselves, for their national interests, especially in the economic sphere.

As Secretary of State Warren Christopher says, it's like investing in the security and property of the United States. Yet the experience of the past year and a half warns one against being too optimistic about the prospects of economic cooperation to be discussed at Vancouver. And this is not because no new ideas in the field will be declared there. A program of aid to Russia is sure to be submitted at the summit. The question is, will it prove sufficiently effective?

And in conclusion, Vladislav Kozyakov asks the question: Won't it have the same fate as the recent promise by the G-7 to allocate $24 billion to aid the Russian reforms which has remained just a promise?

Clinton Pledge on Aid Noted

PM3103103193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Bill Clinton Intends Convincing America To Help Russia"]

[Text] Washington—The United States proposes allocating approximately $1 billion in aid to Russia—in addition to the $700 million which the William Clinton administration intends to seek from Congress for the next fiscal year.

This was reported Monday by THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, quoting anonymous administration sources. State Department spokesmen officially refused to confirm or deny the figures.

Meanwhile, President Clinton admitted that it will be very hard to convince Americans of the need to allocate new funds in aid to Russia but that, in his view, he will succeed in doing so. "Foreign aid," Clinton said in conversation with reporters in Little Rock, where, together with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, he is currently visiting his father-in-law, who recently had a stroke, "is unpopular in any country these days; it has always been unpopular in America. Americans are smart enough to realize that we cannot determine the course of events in Russia ourselves. But we can influence events, and my task as President is to convince the citizens of our country of our direct and personal interest in the outcome of events in Russia. I think I can do that."

Both requests—for the $700 million and the $1 billion—have to be submitted to Congress, where, as THE WALL STREET JOURNAL notes, there will probably be protests. At any rate, the newspaper continues, the requests are unlikely to be approved before Congress debates and ratifies the program for boosting the "domestic" economy which the Clinton administration submitted several weeks ago.

I familiarized myself in Congress with the preliminary timetable for examining the questions of aid to foreign countries. For instance, the relevant Senate committees will not conclude their hearings on these matters before early June. And, of course, the hearings cannot be comprehensive, since a substantial proportion of the aid package, judging by recent statements from Secretary of State Warren Christopher, will have to wait for the G-7 summit scheduled for July in Tokyo.

Aspin Outlines U.S. Strategic Priorities, Threats

PM3103105793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy report: "Les Aspin on U.S. Strategic Priorities"]

[Text] Speaking at the National War College at the end of last week, U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin gave a detailed analysis of the most likely sources of military threat to the United States and spoke of the main directions of the Pentagon's activity to neutralize them.

In present conditions, the secretary noted, a threat to U.S. national interests could most realistically arise as a result of regional conflicts on a political, ethnic, or religious basis. Here by way of example Aspin referred to Iraq's recent attempt to gain control of a significant proportion of world oil production in the course of aggression against Kuwait. Maintaining a forward presence in various regions of the world in combination with the high mobility of U.S. troops will make it possible to counter such attempts, Aspin indicated —if possible, in conjunction with allies but, if necessary, independently.

The "new nuclear threat," stemming not from the great nuclear powers, but from "terrorist groups or states" possessing right now or in the very near future just a few nuclear munitions, is also becoming increasingly palpable, the secretary stated. This was how he explained the Pentagon's heightened attention to efforts to develop and deploy antimissile defense systems—both strategic (with both surface- and space-launched elements) and on the theater scale. For these purposes especially, one-and-a-half times more budget resources are being requested now than last year.

The weak U.S. national economy also puts its security in question, the secretary continued. And the Clinton administration expects a contribution from the Pentagon to solving this problem. One avenue is the intensification of conversion processes. In the next fiscal year it is proposed to spend not less than $700 million from the military department's budget on these purposes.

A fairly new avenue for the U.S. Defense Department such as participation in large-scale operations to maintain peace or perform humanitarian tasks also requires sizable funds. A minimum of $300 million has been provided for this activity, but even this, Aspin believes, will be clearly insufficient.

Paper Examines Benefits of START II Treaty

PM3003130193 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No. 12, Mar 93 (signed to press 16 Mar 93) pp 28-29

[Igor Sutyagin article: "How Many Nuclear Weapons Does Russia Need. START II Treaty: Step Forward Or Step Into Abyss?"]

[Text] After Presidents Boris Yeltsin and George Bush signed the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms (the START II Treaty), fierce controversy began in our country over how to assess this event—as an historic breakthrough to a glorious future or as an act of supreme betrayal of national interests? The dispute involves generals, scientists, democrats, the opposition, patriots, and Westernists.

This dispute became particularly trenchant after the parliamentary hearings on the treaty began in the Russian Supreme Soviet. It is thought that it will take parliamentarians about two months to come to a final decision either to ratify the treaty, despite its enemies' views, or to reject it.

The Stores Will Not Be Empty

Russia and the United States agreed to cut back their strategic nuclear forces by 1 January 2003 so that the total number of nuclear warheads on deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM's], submarine-launched ballistic missiles [SLBM's], and heavy bombers would not exceed 3,500 units.

That notwithstanding MIRV'ed ICBM's must be destroyed, with the exception of no more than 105 such missiles of a single type, transformed into single-warhead missiles. These missiles must be sited in the launchers they were in at the time that the previous START I Treaty was signed.

In practice this means that the treaty authorizes 105 RS-18 (known in the West as SS-19) missile systems to be retained in the arsenal of the Russian Strategic Rocket Forces. These systems currently carry six warheads each. Each system will be left with one warhead. The treaty especially stipulates that there is no need to destroy the removed warheads' standard [shtatnyy] platforms. That is the remaining RS-18's retain room to accommodate another five warheads. The same applies to submarines, the number of whose warheads is also to be cut back.

The treaty especially stipulates a commitment to eliminate all so-called "heavy" missiles, these being our RS-20's, widely known by the Western designation of SS-18. Some 90 launchers can be kept provided they are converted into single-warhead missile launchers.

As of 1 January 2003, in accordance with the treaty, the total number of warheads sited on SLBM's must not exceed 1,700-1,750 units.

The fact that the total number of warheads includes **all** nuclear charges mounted on heavy bombers **without exception**—be they the latest long-range cruise missile or an obsolete gravity bomb—is an important element in the treaty.

Thus, as a result of the implementation of the START II Treaty, a structure for the sides' strategic nuclear forces could take shape, one possible version of which is depicted below.

Naturally, the table below does not necessarily depict the optimum or the only version possible. For instance, Russia might deploy a larger number of RS-12M missiles—either mobile or silo-launched—and make fuller use of the permitted quota of 3,500 warheads. The United States might in the future stop keeping ground-launched ICBM's in its arsenal, then 96 nuclear-equipped B-1B heavy bombers and up to 67 B-52H's could be kept in the arsenal.

Russia	United States
ICBM's	
105 RS-18's	500 Minutemen-3
350 mobile RS-12M's	300 silo-launched RS-12M's
SLBM's	
6 Typhoon submarines (1,200 warheads on 120 SLBM'S	18 Ohio submarines (1,728 warheads on 432 SLBM's)
7 Kalmar submarines (336 warheads on 112 SLBM's)	
4 Delfin submarines (192 warheads on 64 SLBM's)	
Heavy Bombers	
80 TU-95MS's (480 warheads)	20 B-2's (80 warheads)
20 Tu-160's (240 warheads)	75 B-1B's (900 warheads)
	36 B-52H's (288 warheads)
Total	
3,203 warheads	3,496 warheads
(1,151 carriers)	(1,078 carriers)

How Can America Be Turned Into Africa?

Opponents of the START II Treaty claim that it undermines the might of our national strategic deterrence forces, leaving Russia defenseless in the face of overwhelming U.S. superiority.

I would not want to repeat facts that are well-known, but back in 1990-91 the General Staff, in conjunction with the relevant branches of the armed forces, conducted a detailed study of the question of the maximum permissible level of cuts in the then Soviet strategic nuclear forces, a level that would not increase the danger for the USSR or increase uncertainty when planning to deter potential aggressors. The magic number is perfectly well-known—2,500 warheads.

Undoubtedly, people obsessed with a certain political stance will reject from the outset the justice of this assessment. However, you can only argue with people who are willing to accept their opponent's arguments—otherwise it is no argument, but a crude squabble. It therefore seems productive to try to evaluate the possible consequences arising from Russia's using the number of warheads to be retained following the implementation of the START II Treaty.

The point is that the most vehement enemies of the treaty seriously underestimate the vulnerability of a modern industrially-developed state in the event of nuclear weapons' being employed and overestimate the counterforce potential of nuclear arms. The calculations carried out by certain specialists do, however, show that the destruction of just 57-65 installations from the military infrastructure on U.S. territory would deprive the United States for at least 5-10 years of the chance of resuming production of certain key categories of modern weapons, heavy transport aircraft, and so on.

Destroying or merely inflicting serious damage on the reactors at 68 nuclear power stations operating in the United States would render about 195,000-430,000 square km totally unfit for habitation for several decades.

This result, terrible per se, would have catastrophic consequences for the U.S. economy: Some 49 nuclear power stations are located on the eastern seaboard and in the Mid-West, and the industrial regions of the Atlantic seaboard and the Great Lakes would end up in an area dangerous for habitation. Florida would cease to be a resort area—it would begin to be reminiscent of the dead area around Chernobyl. For the same reason New York would lose its reputation as the financial capital of the world. The destruction of just one terminal in the Alaskan port of Valdez would deprive the United States for several years of 30 percent of the oil used in the continental United States. And there are after all also chemical enterprises and major reservoirs on U.S. territory.

In order for this apocalyptic picture to take shape, 200-270 warheads have to be delivered to U.S. territory. Given the level of the strategic nuclear forces prescribed by the START II Treaty that quantity of nuclear warheads—or even more—could certainly be delivered to targets in North America even in the worst case scenario for the Russian Army.

What if the Americans Strike First?

That would, for instance, be the case were, first, the U.S. forces to be the first to attack Russian nuclear weapons from alert duty operations mode, that is without raising the strategic forces' level of readiness, something that could be detected in advance.

Second, if all the targets on Russian territory were attacked by the Americans simultaneously and the surviving Russian missiles only began to be launched once the U.S. attack was completely over. But in practice that scenario has no chance of being carried out since some of the attacking missiles would be detected in advance due to the different flight times to targets located at different distances. Clearly, Russian missiles would start to be launched in retaliation from the more remote regions immediately after the attack on the "closest" Russian targets.

In every case the number of nuclear warheads that would reach U.S. territory would be considerably higher than 200-270. As a result the United States would for at least 10-15 years be put in a position that is not even comparable to the position of today's developing African countries.

All that does, I think, give grounds to say that, even if the START II Treaty still bears the mark of the "cold war," it is a step in the right direction, since it removes an unjustifiably plentiful supply of the "megadeath" that both the USSR (now Russia) and the United States took years to stockpile for "use" on the territory of the "most likely adversary" should the need arise. If the treaty is ratified, there will be more common sense in international relations. Saying that the START II Treaty destroys Russia's ability to check possible aggressive actions against it, is somewhat awkward...

Kozyrev Confirms U.S. Summit, Views Iran Visit

LD3103131293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1154 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—Neither the date, nor the venue of the Russian-American summit will be changed. The Russian and American president will meet in Vancouver, Canada, on April 3-4. This was confirmed by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who gave an interview to journalists on board a plane on his way from Tehran to Moscow. According to Kozyrev, the Russian side is working hard preparing the Vancouver summit. Some 30 issues will be submitted for discussion there.

The recent visit of a Russian delegation was of much importance for Iran, because it became a kind of a breakthrough in what looked like the country's isolation in the international arena, Kozyrev said. However, Russia was promoting its own interests too. Iran is its neighbour country situated in the Caspian Sea area. Its geographic position is of much strategic importance. Russian-Iranian friendly relations are of long standing.

In the opinion of the Russian foreign minister, the visit was the manifestation of solidarity with the reform-minded leaders of the country. Important agreements were reached in Tehran, a document on the fundamentals of relations between the two countries was initialled and a number of other agreements were signed. It turned out that we can develop relations with Iran without concealing the character of our relations with Western countries. We are doing our best to develop normal bilateral friendly relations with Iran, he said. It is also important that any successful step of Russia in that region strengthens its positions in relations with Western countries.

Describing the situation in Russia, Kozyrev described as its key element the fact that the correct solution was found "under the influence of public opinion". This is why the congress hesitated to remove the president from his office and agreed to the April 25 referendum.

The congress made it clear what kind of an alternative it can offer to President Yeltsin, Kozyrev continued. It became clear with whom we would have to deal. It became obvious that chaos, unpredictable developments and, most probably, dictatorship would be the immediate outcome. In his opinion, preparations for the referendum will help various political groups find a better organising form. "I personally side with centrist groups of liberal orientation," Kozyrev said. In his opinion, dictatorship will result in the disintegration of Russia and the coming to the limelight of the "mafia-bureaucratic structures", which exist today, but which are now being held in check.

Further on Tehran Visit

OW3103142093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1351 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov and Igor Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia is seeking to use Tehran's influence to persuade the opposition forces in Tajikistan to enter into negotiations with the Tajik government, said Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev Tuesday [31 March] evening on his way from Iran to Moscow. In Tehran Kozyrev held talks with his Iranian counterpart, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, and had a meeting with President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani. During his talks there developments in Tajikistan were touched upon, Kozyrev told Russian journalists who were accompanying him.

According to the head of Russian diplomacy, in Tehran the Russian side "absolutely refuted" the allegations that Moscow supported the "pro-communist authorities" in Tajikistan. It would be naive to presume that today, when the communist opposition is seeking to overthrow President Boris Yeltsin, Moscow would support a communist regime elsewhere, he said.

Russia, the foreign minister noted, will evidently advise the government of Tajikistan to use, along with measures designed to strengthen law and order, the opportunities for a peaceful dialogue with a view to restoring peace in the republic.

According to Kozyrev, tranquility in Tajikistan also answers to the interests of Iran with its "moderate" leadership. Moscow has no delusions as to the fact that some people in Iran view "the export of Islamic revolution" as conforming to national interests. "Whether the efforts to make them change their mind prove to be successful or not, is another matter," he said.

As Kozyrev stressed, Russia is not interfering in the internal affairs of Tajikistan; its actions toward that republic are based on the fact that Tajikistan is a member of the CIS. The "old" and the "new" Tajik leadership repeatedly asked the CIS for aid and for a deployment of peace-keeping forces in Tajikistan.

"Since Iran is not a member of the CIS, Russia doesn't recognize Tehran's right, the right Moscow has, to play "a direct role" in Tajik affairs," [quotation marks as received] said Kozyrev. There is nothing to justify such a right: Tajikistan has never asked Iran to deploy its troops along Tajik borders.

It's essential that the "political document" initialled in Tehran includes articles directly relating to Tajikistan, a high-ranking diplomat, who was a member of the Russian delegation, told Interfax's correspondent.

Under Article 2, Russia and Iran pledge "not to use force or the threat of force, against each other, not to let their territories be used in launching aggressions, subversive or separatist actions against the other side, or against states friendly to it". Article 15 states, among other things: "The two sides will cooperate on bilateral and multilateral levels with a view to eradicating international terrorism, crime, illegal drug trafficking and arms smuggling".

The Iranian diplomats interviewed by Interfax's correspondent sought not to focus attention on developments in Tajikistan. Foreign Minister Velayati also evaded comments.

In unofficial conversations with Interfax's correspondent several Iranian officials said that they were in fear of an "unpredictable" development of events in Tajikistan. "If the Afghan Tajiks (Rabbani and Mas'ud) join forces with the opposition in Tajikistan, this will lead to breaking up Afghanistan and jeopardize stability in Iran, where many Tajiks live," one of them explained.

According to Kozyrev, the Iranians assured him that they have no official contacts with the separatist forces in Russian republics, such as Chechnya and Tatarstan, and have no intention of establishing them.

Nevertheless support from Iranian extremists cannot be ruled out, and in this case, Kozyrev said, he would welcome tough measures from Russian law-enforcement structures. "This is a matter of the criminal code, not diplomacy," he said.

The issue of military-technical cooperation between Russia and Iran was discussed "in general terms, not concretely, without mentioning systems, volumes of sales, or the like," the foreign minister said.

For the former USSR there were only two countries in the Persian Gulf area: Iran and Iraq, he noted. As for Russia, the circle of its partners, including those involved in military-technical cooperation in that area, is wider. "Therefore it would be amoral on our part to encourage the arms race or supply them with weapons they could use against each other."

Churkin Holds News Briefing in Belgrade

LD3003194793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1853 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade March 30 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's special envoy, Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin arrived here today to continue his contacts with leaders of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Bosnian Serbs.

Today he is to hold meetings with President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic and Prime Minister of Yugoslavia Radoe Kotic. Tomorrow the Russian diplomat has to leave for the Serbian suburb of Pale for talks with the leadership of serbian community of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The same day he will possibly hold a meeting with the official leader of Bosnia and the leader of its Muslim community Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo. At the conclusion of his visit Churkin will hold a meeting with Yugoslavian President Dobrica Cosic.

At a press conference held here the Russian diplomat said that his visit is aimed to help achieve the signing of the peace plan proposed by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen to the warring sides in the Bosnian conflict.

The Serbian side, according to Churkin, is so far the only which has not signed the two points of this plan. That is why it is necessary to study it, its possibility to approach the acceptance of this document so as to remove any uncertainity in this situation, the Russian presidential envoy said. [sentence as received]

Churkin negatively responded to the question regarding the possibility of some correction being made in the border of future provinces of Bosnia, which are contained in the plan proposed by Vance and Owen, in favour of the Serbian side. These maps have been prepared by co-chairmen of the Yugoslav peace process, and their changes cannot be determined by stands taken by separate countries, be it the U.S.A. or Russia.

The Russian diplomat said that the results of the recent Congress of Russian People's Deputies should not have any influence on the policy followed by the Russian diplomacy in Yugoslavian affairs.

Before my visit to Belgrade, I had talks with a number of members of the Russian Parliament who take a considerable interest in the Yugoslavian crisis, the Russian diplomat said.

According to Churkin, "the pace of these talks has showed that notwithstanding elements of exchange of views and definite wishes of Russian deputies, the policy and actions of the Russian diplomacy of the recent period have been finding a considerable degree of understanding in the parliament."

Meets With Milosevic

LD3003202493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1910 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special representative who is in Belgrade, was received on Tuesday [30 March] by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

The Russian diplomat told journalists that their lengthy conversation was basically devoted to a discussion of the situation taking shape regarding a settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They talked about what additional steps had to be taken in order to move toward a settlement of the crisis and the adoption of the Vance-Owen plan.

On Wednesday, Churkin continued, I am to travel to the Sarajevo suburb of Pale for talks with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. After that, it will probably be possible to draw some conclusions.

Answering a question about whether the Russian side is tabling any new proposals on a Bosnian settlement, the Russian deputy foreign minister said: "I have not, of course, come empty-handed, but I should not like to go into details at the moment, since a great deal will depend on the meeting with Karadzic and other members of the Bosnian Serb leadership."

Vote Against Bosnian No-Fly Zone Resolution Threatened

OW3103131493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia will vote against the resolution on a "no fly zone" over Bosnia-Herzegovina under discussion at the UN Security Council now, if the wording which provides for allowing strikes on grounded targets remains in the document. A draft resolution worked out by several countries includes this wording, Interfax learned from a high-ranking Foreign Ministry official who preferred to remain anonymous.

Many other countries, he said, share Moscow's point of view.

According to him, this standpoint was coordinated directly with President Boris Yeltsin.

Delegation Named to April G-7 Meeting in Tokyo

OW3103132693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian delegation to the special G-7 meeting on aid to Russia will be lead by Vice Prime Minister and Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, and his deputy will be RF [Russian Federation] Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, according to a high-ranking Russian Government representative.

The meeting is scheduled for April 14-15 in Tokyo and will be held at the level of foreign and finance ministers.

INTERFAX's source emphasized that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's absence from this meeting is due to the fact that he will be busy with other earlier scheduled affairs. It was decided, however, that such a delegation should definitely be headed by the member of government responsible for economic issues.

Kozyrev, undoubtedly, will be a member of the delegation when Russian President Boris Yeltsin goes to Tokyo in July to meet with the heads of state and government of the seven leading industrial countries, our INTERFAX correspondent was told.

Political Crisis Shows G-7 Russian Policy 'Inadequate'

MK3103120093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 6, 30 Mar 93 p 5

[Vasiliy Golovnin report from Tokyo: "'Yeltsin Crisis' Spoils Western Game. Emergency Changes Made to Preparation for Tokyo G-7 Summit"]

[Excerpts] The current crisis in Moscow has clearly shown that the capitalist world, which was quite recently priding itself on its collective victory over Soviet communism, in reality has an extremely vague idea of how it should approach Russian affairs. In fact, for the first time in its postwar history the West is at a loss: It would like to participate in the affairs of the former USSR, to provide it with an efficient model for transformations and to help those it considers fit, but it does not know what is to be done because most recipes proposed so far have proved ludicrously inadequate.

Japan, which chairs the upcoming G-7 meeting, is naturally less prepared than others for fresh, unconventional decisions with regard to Russia, partly because a settlement in its relations with Moscow soured by a territorial dispute is still pending, and partly because Tokyo is generally incapable of swift political turns since the country's prime minister wields much less real power than the U.S. President or the German chancellor. [passage omitted]

Of course, what Yeltsin needs like the breath of life in the current situation is first of all the G-7's political support, which they keep demonstrating virtually every day. The key question, however, as to what the West can really do to turn Russia into what it would like it to be, remains unanswered.

Of course, given its largest free capital resources among the G-7 countries and its dislike for Moscow because of the South Kurils, it is easy to accuse Japan of "passiveness" because it indeed is in only fifth place in terms of its promised assistance to Moscow, to say nothing of the fact that only a miserly amount of the promised aid has actually been forthcoming. Authoritative people in Tokyo, however, keep telling me that Mitterrand, with his Gallic quick temper, should rather keep his mouth shut because Paris' contribution is even more modest. Similar, if not stronger, reproaches can be heaped on the other G-7 countries, whose decisions on granting assistance to Moscow have been implemented by scarcely one-half because of bureaucratic red tape and chaos in Russia. The promised ruble stabilization fund does not work, nor do the systems of trade stabilization, and what has been released has fallen as if down the drain without any visible effect.

In these conditions Tokyo and Western capitals are beginning to realize that the reform program drawn up by IMF for the former USSR has reached an impasse. Signals coming from Moscow are adding to the confusion. One deputy prime minister, Boris Fedorov, asked at the Hong Kong meeting of personal representatives of the G-7 leaders for fresh subsidies worth billions of dollars, whereas another deputy prime minister, Vladimir Shumeyko, says that Moscow does not need anything except debt restructuring. [passage omitted]

Different sorts of doubts crop up too. Is it worthwhile promising additional assistance to Moscow now that the threat of Yeltsin's downfall, in the Western view, can by no means be ruled out? In this event, the G-7 group would not like to feed the Kremlin's new bosses, but backing down on previous obligations means the immediate heightening of tensions in relations with Boris Nikolayevich's successors...

But what is most important is that the desperate crisis around the referendum proposed by Yeltsin has plainly shown that in many respects, Russia continues to remain outside the sphere of Western control. Political declarations have been virtually falling on deaf ears even in Moscow, to say nothing of the periphery. Military pressure is impossible and only few people seem to be thrilled by the promises of fresh credits. The current battles in Moscow have effectively marked an acute crisis of the G-7's Russian policies, creating the threat that the Russians will finally give up their early hopes for help from the rich West and will go it alone along their own mysterious path.

Kozyrev Predicts Better Conditions for EC Cooperation

MK3103121093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 2

[Dmitriy Gornostayev report under the "Diplomacy" rubric: "Europe Champions Free Trade With Russia, Fully Supports Russian President's Course"]

[Text] The two-day visit to Moscow (it ended on 27 March) by the delegation of "an EC troika" composed of the foreign ministers of Denmark, Britain, and Belgium—the incumbent, former, and next EC presidents—and also Hans van den Broek, EC commissioner for foreign policy matters, heralded a new stage in the relationship between Russia and the EC. This stage, according to Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, is distinguished by a transfer from humanitarian aid and moral support to much more serious relations which will soon be formalized by an agreement on partnership and cooperation between the Russian Federation and the EC. It was the drafting of this document that was the centerpiece of talks between the "troika" and the Russian Foreign Minister and, later, with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

The agreement's focal point will be the establishment of a free trade zone between the Russian Federation and the EC. In addition, the agenda of the talks included such items as the application of GATT rules to trade with Russia, the lifting of protectionist restrictions on Russian exports, and technical collaboration. When asked whether the Russian parliament is going to endorse or reject the EC free trade plan if it is approved by government agencies, Andrey Kozyrev voiced a fairly intriguing suggestion: In his view, by the moment these documents are ratified more favorable conditions for their approval will have been created. There is no telling whether these words mean his confidence in the victory of the executive branch and the possibility of reelecting the legislature, a hope for such an outcome, or merely a joke on the occasion of his own birthday which coincided with the talks.

Delegation Members on Aid Plans

PM3103091193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksey Portanskiy article: "EC-Russia: Guarantees Needed that Reforms Will Continue"]

[Text] Moscow has been visited for the first time by a ministerial-level EC delegation for the purpose of establishing cooperation relations of a new type between Russia and the EC and seeking opportunities for more effective help for the Russian reforms.

The "European troika"—the leaders of the foreign policy departments of Britain, Denmark, and Belgium—unambiguously declared the Community's full support for the course of reforms being carried out by B. Yeltsin's government. N.H. Petersen, foreign minister of Denmark which currently holds the presidency of the EC, stated that among others to journalists on the delegation's behalf.

The EC has already helped the Russian transformations—a large part of the humanitarian and technical aid that we have received has come from West European countries. Now however it is a question of signing as soon as possible an agreement on partnership and cooperation between the Russian Federation and the EC which will replace the previous agreement between the Community and the USSR. The aim of the economic section of the future agreement is Russia's organic inclusion in the European single economic area.

Russia's problems must be resolved by the Russians themselves, Willy Claes, vice premier of the Belgian Government and a member of the "European troika," told your IZVESTIYA correspondent. The EC does not intend interfering in its internal affairs or dictating economic policy. But the West must have certain guarantees that the program of economic reforms really will be carried out. Otherwise the EC will have to think three times before launching into an adventure of signing the agreement on partnership.

There are conditions which must be fulfilled if foreign aid is not to be useless. There is special concern in Western capitals over the policy of the Central Bank of Russia which is helping to fuel inflation by granting cheap credits to enterprises and by unwarranted levels of money emission. All our programs risk ending in disaster, the Belgian vice premier repeated a number of times, unless the Central Bank's present policy changes. Given that the EC countries also have economic problems, public opinion there will not understand its politicians if they act thoughtlessly and do not achieve a result by helping Russia.

The signing of an agreement with the EC on a free trade regime would be of tremendous significance for the economic reforms in Russia. On Denmark's initiative this question is now at the center of the Twelve's attention. However, attitudes toward this idea within the EC are mixed. Countries such as Germany and Britain, which are discussing the program of aid to Russia within the framework of the seven industrially developed nations, support it.

As Willy Claes stated in conversation with me, he does not rule out the possibility that the text of the partnership agreement will include an article envisaging the gradual establishment of a free trade regime.

EBRD President Says Foreign Debt Delaying Democracy

OW3003165793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Jacques Attali believes that the "advent of democracy in Russia was largely delayed" by the burden of redemption of the former USSR foreign debt. Mr Attali observed that "democracy should not repay the debts made by dictatorship," noting, in the meantime, that the loans allocated to Russia by the EBRD should not be channeled to covering the USSR foreign debt.

In an interview for Interfax on Tuesday [30 March] during his trips to the central Russian cities of Vladimir and Suzdal, the EBRD president indicated that in attracting credits to Russia (7 Bn [billion] ECU [European currency unit], or nearly $8.23 Bn, of which 1.3 ECU, or over $1.5 Bn constitute the Bank's own resources), the Bank has to assess the viability of the projects to be funded by them. In particular, he referred to a number of agricultural and oil projects, as well as the projects envisaging the development of infrastructure and private enterprise.

During their stay in the city of Vladimir, the EBRD delegation members were specially interested in visiting the plants "Tekhnika" and "Krasny Khimik" with a view to examine options for attracting the credits required for providing western know-how and production capabilities to these plants. However, as a result of a minor road accident, where none of the delegation members was hurt, the visit to the plants was cancelled.

Mr Attali, however, assured the local administration officials that the EBRD experts will visit the plants in the near future in order to examine options for implementing the existing projects.

EBRD Ready To Issue Loans

LD3003201093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1644 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Smelyakov and Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is ready to issue loans to private and state Russian enterprises, including loans, which are not guaranteed by the Russian Government, first bank Vice-President Ron Freeman told a news conference today.

The bank is working to help Russia increase its exports and gradually cancel the state subsidies system in order to stabilize the national economy and boost privatization.

Speaking of privatization prospects in Russia, Freeman said the Russian State Property Committee has achieved "considerable success in the sphere". In his opinion, the privatization idea is supported at all levels, including the government and enterprises.

At Moscow meetings of a bank delegation none doubted further development of the privatization program despite the recent political events. On its part, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is ready to give "political risk" guarantees.

Asked by ITAR-TASS on a Russian politician, whose stand mostly corresponds to the aims and tasks of the European bank in Russia, Freeman said these are "the younger generation", including Boris Fyodorov and Aleksandr Shokhin.

Envoy Says DPRK Ready To Receive IAEA Team, Negotiate

SK3103143093 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] North Korean Ambassador to Austria Kim Kwang-sop said that the DPRK is ready to receive the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] team for ad hoc inspection and allow it to inspect the republic's nuclear facilities [imsi komyolgwandulul pataduril yongui sachal hadorok].

He said in a news conference in Vienna that Pyongyang representatives are ready [yonguigaita] to hold talks with the IAEA to negotiate this issue.

North Korea's statement on withdrawing from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty has caused neighboring countries to be apprehensive and has been the source of tension in the Asia-Pacific region.

Demarcation of Border With China Slated To Begin

OW3103141293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In April or May Russia and China will start the demarcation of the 4,300 kilometer long eastern stretch of their border. Colonel Boris Kovalenko, a senior officer in the Russian Border Guard Command emphasized that this work is to be done for the first time. The division of isles in the navigable Amur and Ussuri rivers had never been done bilaterally. The demarcation will proceed in compliance with "the USSR-Chinese People's Republic Accord on the Eastern Stretch of Their Common Border" of May 1, 1991, which was ratified by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on February 14, 1992.

Consistently with the existing international law the demarcation in navigable rivers will proceed along the middle of the mainstream and in non-navigable rivers, the middle of the river. Consequently, some isles that are closer to the Chinese bank but have been used by Russian citizens will become Chinese territory.

Grachev Visits NATO Headquarters, Departs Brussels

LD3003211693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2026 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels March 31 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev visited the NATO allied armed forces headquarters on Tuesday in Casteau, Belgium, to meet NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe John Shalikashvili.

The sides discussed issues of mutual interest, including Russian- NATO cooperation in peace-keeping operations in regional crises areas, says a communique on meeting results.

During the two-day Belgian visit, the general attended a meeting of defence ministers from the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which includes NATO states, East European countries and republics of the former Soviet Union, met defence ministers from Belgium, Great Britain, Spain, Lithuania, Canada and Norway and U.S. Undersecretary of Defence William Perry.

The Russian defence minister left for Russia on March 30.

Grachev Statement on Troop Pullout From Baltics Protested

MK3103093093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 1

[Natalya Pachegina article: "Moscow Suspends Withdrawal of Troops From Baltics. Vilnius, Riga, Tallinn Link This to Changes in Internal Political Situation in Russia"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Immediately after Pavel Grachev's statement [on a pause in the pullout of troops from the Baltic states] the defense ministers of Estonia and Lithuania, Hain Rebas and Audryus Butkyavichyus, issued a joint statement saying that this decision contradicts Russia's commitments and the international treaties it has signed.

There has also been sharp reaction to Grachev's statement from defense ministers of the United States, Great Britain, Norway, Iceland, and Canada.

According to reports from Tallinn, this statement has also come as a surprise to Russian Foreign Ministry personnel. They recall Boris Yeltsin's November threat to suspend the withdrawal of troops from other Baltic states, which never materialized, and they believe that this time the troops' withdrawal will indeed be suspended.

Yuri Luyk, head of the Estonian delegation at the Estonian-Russian talks, having said that according to Russia, there are 35,000 Russian army servicemen, suggested that this statement undermines Estonian-Russian relations and means a deliberate evasion of the fulfillment of the agreements whereby Russia undertook to withdraw its troops within the shortest possible term. He believes that the reason for the turn in Russia's policy lies in the change of the internal political situation in the Russian Federation. Grachev's statement, he pointed out, is surprising since it is precisely now that many Western countries, the G-7, and the EC have decided to give Russia greater financial assistance.

"Estonia has an unequivocal position on this issue, which I will express today (30 March) during my meeting with chief Russian negotiator Vasiliy Svirin," said Luyk.

Commenting on Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev's statement concerning the suspension of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia owing to the fact that no agreement has been concluded, Vinkelis Peteris, press attache of the Latvian Republic, observed that there is no agreement on the presence of Russian troops on the territory of the Baltic states either. In this kind of situation Latvia, citing the absence of a corresponding agreement, could for its part take certain moves directed at expediting the withdrawal of Russian troops from its territory.

The press attache added, however, that despite statements of this type coming out from time to time, the withdrawal of Russian troops continues. According to him, as of today approximately 50 percent of Russian army servicemen have been pulled out of Latvia. Nonetheless, Peteris believes that such statements cannot but evoke a certain concern, especially in the context of ongoing developments in Russia. "Fortunately, up to now the Russian military's words have not been backed by their deeds," the press attache said, summing up the situation.

Pavel Grachev's statement has caused dismay among the Russian delegation at talks with Estonia, sources at the Estonian Embassy in Moscow said—especially given that after a similar statement last November the procedure for the troop withdrawal was not breached (at present some 50 percent have been withdrawn from Estonia). The Estonian Embassy said it does not have any more detailed information. [passage omitted]

Bombers Seen as Complicating Talks With Ukraine

LD3003231293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2011 GMT 30 Mar 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Western leaders have other worries apart from problems about the former Soviet army in the Baltic region. They are turning their attention to the fact that heavy strategic bombers are apparently becoming a new subject for complicated talks between Russia and Ukraine. What is at issue here is the Tu-106 and Tu-95 bombers stationed in Ukraine. According to INTERFAX, Kiev is expressing its readiness to transfer these aircraft to Russia—but in exchange for aircraft of a different class. These reports appeared after the statement by the Russian military that within the next few months these heavy bombers could become unserviceable and be suitable only for scrap since servicing cannot be provided.

Commander of Forces in Tajikistan Interviewed on Situation

PM3103124993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Anatoliy Ladin report: "Kyrgyzstan Withdraws Its Battalion From Tajikistan. Main Burden of Securing Tajik-Afghan Border Once Again Lies With Russian Border Troops"]

[Text] The main cause of the withdrawal now under way of the battalion sent earlier to reinforce the Group of Russian Border Troops in Tajikstan was most probably political problems. The fact is that the latest session of the Kyrgyz parliament begins work 12 April. Politicians fear that the question of the legitimacy of the presence of Kyrgyz servicemen in the "hot-spot republic" of Tajikistan may again be raised. In the opinion of observers, the republic leadership has taken this step so as to avoid a conflict with parliamentarians who last year quite categorically opposed the participation of a Kyrgyz peacemaking battalion in resolving the conflict in the neighboring republic.

The Kyrgyz battalion is stationed in Tajikistan's Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast. Possibly, this or another battalion will at some later stage again take part in helping Russian border troops, but this time on a contract basis. But as yet there is no law in Kyrgyzstan on performing service by contract.

In an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent Major General Vitaliy Gritsan, commander of the Russian Federation Group of Border Troops in Tajikistan, said that the withdrawal of the Kyrgyz battalion seriously complicates the situation in border troop subunits, whose manning levels are falling below permissible limits. Measures are being undertaken to reinforce the outposts of the Khorog and Ishkashim border detachments with servicemen from the group commander's reserve. However, the commander's capacity to eliminate the personnel deficit is extremely limited.

As of today the situation in sectors of the border in Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast has stabilized somewhat: The abundant snowfall has had an impact, cutting off the road in the mountain sectors on the Afghan side. However, in the southerly salient, in the region of Pyandzh, armed groups of up to 20 men are continuing attempts to penetrate the border. All these attempts are being scotched by Russian border troops.

In the context of these events, the statement delivered the other day by Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmonov, during a meeting last week with a delegation from the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly's Defense and Security Committee, struck an anxious note. He stressed that the "strengthening of the Tajik-Afghan border is not only a problem for our republic, but for all the Commonwealth countries that signed the collective security treaty." It is to be hoped that the Kyrgyzstan parliamentarians will ultimately appreciate this and remove the obstacles that are preventing Tajikistan receiving aid which is so essential at the moment.

Gorbachev Visits Canada, Urges Russian Elections

LD3103082093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0734 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets]

[Text] Ottawa March 31 TASS—Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev who is now touring Canada met Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on Tuesday to discuss economic cooperation between the two countries.

After the meeting Gorbachev held a news conference at which he called on Canadian businesses not to let their chances slip in Russia. Responding to questions about the situation in the Russian Federation, the ex-president stressed the need for new elections because the present situation in the country can otherwise result in the disintegration of the federation.

Wants U.S. To End Cuba Sanctions

LD3103081093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev believes U.S. President Clinton should drop sanctions against Cuba. At the same time, he said Cuban President Fidel Castro should recognize the fact that democratization in Latin America concerns Cuba as well.

Commentary Examines Military Pullout From Cuba

LD3103014693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Commentary by Valentin Gorkayev; read by announcer]

[Text] The withdrawal of the Russian military brigade from Cuba has entered its final stage. The whole operation is to be completed by the middle of the year. This is a commentary written by Valentin Gorkayev:

Bilateral agreement to remove the brigade was reached last September. Also last autumn the first group of Russian servicemen left Cuba. The 1,500 strong brigade has never played a noticeable role in the Cuban defense; rather it used to symbolize the interests of former Soviet Union in the military confrontation with the United States during the cold war. The brigade was brought into Cuba immediately after the removal of Soviet missiles from the island in the wake of the notorious Caribbean crisis.

As the years passed the Soviet-American relations gradually improved, though, and with the beginning of a mutually coordinated disarmament process the global confrontation between the two superpowers swooped down. The brigade's withdrawal was just a matter of time.

Unfortunately the then Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev announced a unilateral decision without discussing it with the Cuban side. Apart from the fact that by this he showed impermissible disrespect for the partner, the problem is that not only former Soviet but also American servicemen are stationed in Cuba. Naturally the Cubans attempted to link these two problems together.

Later Russian diplomats had to work hard to disconnect the brigade's withdrawal from the U.S.-Cuban relations, and finally the Cuban Government declared that the presence of the Russian military brigade on the island was pointless. And this being so it seemed illogical to tie its withdrawal to the withdrawal of Americans from the Guantanamo naval station.

At a time when changing wind is blowing around the world, Cuba would not mind normalizing its relations with the United States. Numerous statements by American officials in support of Russian reforms show that the United States and Russia may become good partners. And so, writes Valentin Gorkayev, the removal of the Russian military brigade from Cuba is one more step in this direction.

South Africa's Plan To Cut Nuclear Weapons Welcomed

LD3003140693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1332 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Russia welcomes South African President Frederick de Klerk's announcement to reduce his country's nuclear weapons program as a step of more openness, having special meaning for South Africa's observance of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman told ITAR-TASS.

In 1974 South Africa began a nuclear weapons program, and by the end of the 1980's had built six nuclear devices. Because of the changed international situation and its addition to the nuclear non- proliferation treaty, South Africa decided to curtail its nuclear program and to liquidate the existing weapons.

The Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the hope that de Klerk's announcement will draw a line under the history of his country's nuclear weapons and will enable not only the strengthing of South Africa's non-nuclear status, but also turn all of Africa into a nuclear-free zone.

More on Foreign Ministry Stance

MK3103114693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 10

[Anastasiya Romashkevich report: "De Klerk Statement Gets Approval"]

[Text] Yesterday the Russian Foreign Ministry prepared a communication [soobshcheniye] on its official position with respect to South African President Frederik de Klerk's statement (see KOMMERSANT-DAILY of 27 March) concerning his country's military nuclear program. Although by the time this issue was signed to press the communication had not yet been issued, KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent learned its main content.

The delay over the preparation of the communication, observers point out, was related to both internal political upheavals in Moscow and the specifics of the precedent itself. According to KOMMERSANT-DAILY analysts, the future of the [nuclear nonproliferation] treaty (its term expires in 1995) in increasingly uncertain. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has withdrawn from it, while the "unofficial nuclear states" such as India, Pakistan, and Israel are thus far not going to accede to it. Despite the Foreign Ministry's worry over the fact that nuclear weapons have been created in a country that is party to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, Pretoria's moves have been given a positive evaluation. The statement also contains a call to observe the norms of the treaty, which, experts believe, should be embodied in the form of more effective verification measures being worked out and will require their harmonization with one of the top priorities of Russia's foreign trade, namely the arms trade.

Reaction to Ninth Congress of People's Deputies

Yeltsin Considers Holding 'Separate Referendum'

AU3003143393 Paris AFP in English 1405 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, March 30 (AFP)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin is considering holding on April 25 a separate referendum from the plebiscite approved by the Congress of People's Deputies, a presidential adviser told AFP on Tuesday [30 March].

Anatoly Sliva, head of Yeltsin's constitutional law department, said "the president would inevitably hold his own parallel referendum" after the Congress set its own terms for holding the April 25 poll.

The Congress, Russia's supreme legislature, on Monday [29 March] approved four questions to be put on the referendum ballot: votes of confidence in Yeltsin and his "shock therapy" reform program as well as questions on early presidential and legislative elections.

Lawmakers also decided that the outcome would be decided by the majority of enlisted voters and not by those who actually turn out at the polls, a condition that would make victory for Yeltsin almost impossible.

Sliva acknowledged Yeltsin's decision could launch a "war of referendums" as there would have to be "two separate electoral commissions, separate polling booths and parallel campaigns."

It would consecrate the existence of "two powers" in Russia, he added.

Meanwhile, the standing parliament, the Supreme Soviet, adopted a 20-billion-ruble budget (30 million dollars) for the referendum initially proposed by Yeltsin as a means to break the deadlock with parliament over who rules Russia.

Yeltsin, who spent the day in his Kremlin office, told a meeting of pro-reform deputies that the Congress had failed to remove him from power and split the government.

Lawmakers wanted "to impeach the president and to introduce a split in the close union and cooperation between the president and the government", Yeltsin's presidential press service quoted him as saying.

Yeltsin added that cooperation between the government and the president had been strengthened following the showdown and that it formed the basis for stability in the country.

The Russian leader, who faced his toughest challenge from the Congress since the break-up of the Soviet Union, on Sunday [28 March] filed an appeal with the Constitutional Court to judge the constitutionality of decisions taken by the legislature during its five-day stormy session that ended Monday [29 March].

Hardliners attempted twice to oust Yeltsin during the session and rejected a compromise deal that would have called for early presidential and legislative elections to be held in November.

The Congress is made up mostly of industry bosses, collective farm managers and former communist party apparatchiks whose positions and influence are under threat from free-market reforms.

Yeltsin was to travel to Vancouver, Canada, this week for a summit meeting with U.S. President Bill Clinton to discuss urgent aid for Russia, a move that could provide a boost for the Russian leader during the referendum campaign.

Free-market reforms launched in January 1991 have brought widespread poverty to millions of Russians as prices have skyrocketed and living standards have plummeted.

Reportedly Undecided About Plebiscite

OW3103155593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1512 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president's press service has said the meeting of the Council of the Heads of the Republics of the Russian Federation scheduled, according to some sources, for the end of March, will be postponed.

Experts believe the reason for this is that, most of all, decisions have to be drafted concerning the results of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies and, secondly, the preparations for the Russian-U.S. summit in Vancouver have to be finished.

President Boris Yeltsin has apparently not yet made up his mind whether he should call a separate plebiscite on "his own" propositions to be held on April 25 along with the referendum on propositions approved by the congress. Sergey Filatov, his chief of staff, and Vyacheslav Kostikov, his press secretary, think it cannot be ruled out that he will decide to hold such a plebiscite, although deputies who voted at the congress against Yeltsin's dismissal advised him on Tuesday [30 March] evening not to do so.

One of the president's advisers, Andranik Migranian, told INTERFAX the president would apparently protest to the Constitutional Court against the principle, approved by the congress, that each proposition at the referendum is to be approved by a simple majority of the votes of the registered electors rather than of those who actually take part in the voting. This would be a violation of the Constitution, Migranian said. "Yeltsin needed the majority of votes of those who participated in the presidential election to become president, and now a different principle is to be used to have confidence in him confirmed," he said.

The adviser said he doubted that any of the four propositions would receive enough votes to be approved if the simple majority principle were used. "If none of the four propositions get enough votes, that would mean the referendum had been useless," he said. In his view, if the Constitutional Court changes the principle, there would be no need for a parallel plebiscite anyway. Everything depends now on the Constitutional Court's decision on the president's March 20 decree, which provided for holding a vote of confidence in the president and a vote on the draft constitution. (The congress suspended the validity of the decree pending the decision of the Constitutional Court - IF [INTERFAX]). Most observers believe that, although Yeltsin's rating has gone up after the congress, he is unlikely to win the referendum if the vote- tallying system is not changed. At the same time, they doubt that more than half of the registered electors will vote for holding a new presidential election before Yeltsin's term in office expires. That means that, even if the president failed to receive a formal confidence vote, his adversaries would be unable to interpret this to their own advantage.

Yeltsin Writes to Constitutional Court About Congress

LD3103095693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0902 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar—The Russian Federation Constitutional Court is in possession of a letter from the Russian president dated 29 March this year assessing the work and results of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the Constitutional Court today. The letter contains the information that in the immediate future, the Russian president's side will be sending the court a duly formulated petition "On Verification of the Constitutionality of the Acts of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies". However, this document has not yet reached the court.

The Constitutional Court has also registered a petition from a large group of People's Deputies, including Oleg Rumyantsev and Gleb Yakunin, concerning verification of the constitutionality of the resolution of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies "On Measures to Ensure the Freedom of Speech on State Television and Radio and the Information Services". No other petitions concerning the fierce battles at the Congress which has just ended have reached the Constitutional Court.

Since 1 January 1993, the Constitutional Court has accepted 30 duly formulated petitions. The procedure for considering them has to be determined by the judges of the Constitutional Court.

Yeltsin's Team To Appeal on Referendum's Voting Procedure

OW3103141393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's adviser Andranik Migranyan told INTERFAX that the president's team will appeal to the Constitutional Court against the procedure of counting votes during the April referendum (50% + 1 from the total number of voters).

He emphasized that "the president was elected by the majority of the voters who took part in the election". The 50% + 1 formula proposed by the congress is a violation of the Constitution, he said.

He also expressed doubt that any issues would be clarified if the formula proposed by the deputies were used. "But if the principle of counting is changed, the president will score the majority of the votes and the congress will no longer be able to cling to the articles in the constitution dealing with its uncontrollable power," he said.

Migranyan believes that if the Constitutional Court changes the system of voting, there will be no need to hold a parallel opinion poll.

Kostikov Says Congress 'Completely Discredited'

MK3003111293 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 4

[Interview with Vyacheslav Kostikov, President Yeltsin's press secretary, by Lidiya Lukyanova under "Only for KURANTY" rubric: "President's Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov: "The Vengeance and Fear of People's Deputies"]

[Text] [Lukyanova] Vyacheslav Vasilyevich, for the sake of achieving concord in society and for the sake of truth the Russian president put his head on the rails. He awaits the people's verdict in the 25 April poll. The president's head is on the rails, but will the steam engine being driven by the people's deputies stop?

[Kostikov] I think that the psychological and physical sacrifices the president is making in the struggle with antireformist forces are nonetheless bearing fruit. The president was forced, as you say, to put his head on the rails for the sake of ascertaining the people's will, because by the time the Congress began democratic forces were very badly organized. Fortunately the people rose up in Russian cities. To continue your comparison that the president laid his head on the rails, the Congress of People's Deputies was derailed thanks to this act by Boris Nikolayevich. We observed the Congress' agony; it completely discredited itself.

[Lukyanova] A malicious story was going around the Congress that the president had deliberately lured the Constitutional Court into a trap by delaying publication of the edicts he had announced in his television appeal to citizens. It transpired that the court hastened to "broadcast" its sympathies and issued its finding concerning the unconstitutionality of an edict whose text it had never laid eyes on. A juridical blunder! But they are blaming the president for it: an amoral subterfuge...

[Krasnikov] Politics requires calculated moves and foresight. Is that not so? A good president is one who can be not only courageous and intuitive but also politically calculating when necessary. If the delay over the edicts is such a calculation, then I feel even more respect for the president. But I find it strange that the Constitutional Court allowed itself to be enticed into a trap. In that case the court is a poor and unwise one, if it fell into such a simple trap. Unfortunately the Constitutional Court is too politicized in favor of the Congress, the Supreme Soviet, and to be even more precise, pro-communist forces. It is not difficult to understand the reasons for this orientation: The Constitutional Court judges are dependent on the Supreme Soviet—it approves judges, gives them apartments, cars...

I want to explain why there was a delay in publishing the edict after the president's television appeal to citizens. Such an important edict goes through several drafting stages. The Constitutional Court's trouble is that somebody stole or took—I still do not know how to define such an act—an intermediate version of the edict being drafted from the president's office for the court. On the basis of only a version of the edict, which did not yet have the force of a document, the Constitutional Court hastily gave its finding.

[Lukyanova] We have observed the consequences of such impulsiveness on the court's part. The spectacle being played out on the Kremlin stage has a high price. High for all society.

[Krasnikov] It was not a spectacle but a ferocious attack on the president. I am convinced that the Congress would still have convened even without the Constitutional Court's finding. The court was merely a cog in the "tank" attack on the president. I associate the convening of this Congress with a much more threatening phenomenon—the revival and organized establishment of the banned Communist Party. After all, the revived CPSU Central Committee stands invisibly behind the Supreme Soviet Presidium. I have been reliably informed that prior to the Congress R. Khasbulatov consulted with G. Zyuganov, the Communist Party's leader.

Khasbulatov makes himself out to be a defender of democracy, but in fact it is his hand that is guiding the revived CPSU Central Committee. That is what is dangerous. The Communist Party has retained its organizational experience and gold. A powerful resurgence [podpitka] of the Communist Party is under way. It is using the Congress and Supreme Soviet as a battering ram to gain revenge.

It made me sad to observe the constant desire of most deputies at the Congress to settle scores with people, humiliate them, crush them, send them into retirement, take them to... The deputies made short work of television journalists' independence under the guise of "abolishing" censorship. Two black angels—vengeance and cowardice—hovered over the Congress. I do not mean sensible deputies. But the majority in the Congress—the former party and soviet nomenklatura—were seized by the passion to gain revenge for the defeat. These deputies went to the Congress with one aim—to crush the president. But the majority did not dare when it came to voting: Fear was already hovering over the Congress. Fear of the people, who are supporting the president at a difficult time.

Kozyrev Says Congress Had 'Positive Effect'

OW3003165293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev thinks the 9th Congress of People's Deputies had a positive effect. He said the Congress displayed the real alternative to President Boris Yeltsin. "If it's not Yeltsin, then it's a mixture of revanche with ochlocratic chaos, which will subsequently grow into dictatorship. In such a case Yugoslavia will look like a kindergarten to us," said Kozyrev in a discussion with a group of Russian journalists Tuesday [30 March] aboard a plane from Iran to Moscow. He said that would mean Russia's disintegration not into national republics, but into districts. Moreover, Kozyrev said, this would mean entering the arena of mafioso-beaurocratic structures.

The minister stressed that in the end, public opinion, the pressure of the people, showed itself at the Congress. This broke the course of the forum: the attempt to remove the president, that is, the attempted revolution, did not go through, and the deputies agreed to conduct the referendum on April 25.

Another positive result of the Congress, the minister said, was that the preparation period for the referendum will allow political forces to begin forming. Perhaps a centrist party or movement will emerge. A center of liberal tendency, as the minister put it.

He assured an Interfax correspondent that the domestic political events in Russia will not affect the time and place of the U.S.- Russian summit in Vancouver scheduled for April 3-4.

Shakhray on Yeltsin, Khasbulatov Resignation Issue

MK3003112093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 4

[Interview with S.M. Shakhray by Lidiya Lukyanova; place and date not given: "Sergey Shakhray: No End to Cunning of Congress"]

[Text] [Lukyanova] Sergey Mikhaylovich, how do you rate the Congress' attempt to make the nationally elected president and the Supreme Soviet chairman, who was elected only by deputies, resign at the same time?

[Shakhray] A cunning attempt! The speaker is backed by 500 deputies at most, while the president has the backing of several tens of millions of Russian citizens. It was not the deputies who elected the president, and it is not up to them to decide his fate once and for all. The president is not holding on to his seat with the grip of a dead man, but is clearly saying to the citizens of Russia: Make your choice yourselves 25 April! But the Congress persists: Help, the president is pursuing an antipopular policy. Antipopular....

But let the people decide for themselves at last whom they support—the president or the Congress and the Supreme Soviet.

I am convinced that even after the Congress the Supreme Soviet will attempt to wreck the 25 April poll. For the sake of this they could announce early elections to parliament, and then another extraordinary Congress will meet and declare that a demon beguiled all the deputies and they did not know that it was time to gather the harvest and not engage in elections. And they will cancel them. There is no end to the cunning of the Congress....

[Lukyanova] I believe that the stubborn desire of the Congress to include at all cost in the poll a question about the people's attitude toward the socioeconomic reforms being implemented under the president's leadership was dictated by a craving to overthrow the elected president—this time at the hands of the people themselves. Is this not a provocation?

[Shakhray] Of course it is, although the Law on the Referendum prohibits the submission of questions of a socioeconomic nature—taxes, the budget—for nationwide discussion. It is clear why: Otherwise no reforms would ever be possible, for it would be the same as asking people whether they want to be hungry and sick or healthy and full. The president and the government are implementing the policy of reforms that was adopted by the Congresses and by the Supreme Soviet and implemented through legislative acts. That is, the Congress itself approved these reforms, but has now tried to evade responsibility for them.

[Lukyanova] I believe there is nothing new here: It was the Bolsheviks' well-known immoral ploy of foisting their own responsibility onto others.

[Shakhray] If this question is submitted for nationwide discussion, it is necessary to add: "The course being implemented by the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the Congress." But again there is a lack of honesty and courage.

[Lukyanova] What is your attitude to the fact that you personally have been included in the president's mysterious entourage, which the Congress called a "collective Rasputin"?

[Shakhray] I regard this as good publicity! Seriously, this is a scandalous attempt to kick the president once again. But nobody whispers decisions in his ear, and the president makes them himself and works sternly on edicts.

[Lukyanova] How do you rate the resignation of Minister Nechayev?

[Shakhray] To judge from statements by the president and the premier, there will be more—only not resignations but corrections to the government's composition.

[Lukyanova] Is this essentially not one and the same thing?

[Shakhray] No! It is one thing when the president "surrenders" one minister or another. But the essence of a correction is quite different. It is based on concord and compromise.

[Lukyanova] Will you not be "corrected" after the Congress?

[Shakhray] I do not rule out the possibility that they might demand this.

Filatov Comments on Congress 'Halfway' Decision

OW3003153893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1457 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the president's administration, Sergey Filatov, characterized as "halfway" the Congress' decision in regards to the referendum. In his words, the decision only reflects the attitude toward the president of the majority of the Congress who voted 617:268 for the president's impeachment on Sunday [28 March].

Four of the questions included in the referendum, Filatov says, are aimed at discrediting the president and the policy pursued by him. He maintains that the deputies distorted the essence of the president's initiative when he proposed to put to a vote people's confidence in himself together with their attitude toward the draft of Russia's new constitution. The referendum's principal issue—Russia's new Constitution—still remains unresolved, Filatov said.

Asked what the president and his team are going to do under these circumstances, Filatov answered, "I think, the president's decree in regards to the national referendum on April 25 remains in force." The head of the president's administration says he is confident that the voting should be held, noting that the executive branch can organize it on its own.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: The Congress resolved to dissolve a government commission which was set to prepare the referendum on April 25. The deputies decided to trust preparations for the referendum to the Central Elections Commission headed by Vasiliy Kazakov, former deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet (convened in 1985).

Sergey Filatov reasons that the referendum will most probably pass a decision to hold early parliamentary elections. Therefore, he said, it becomes imperative for us to initiate most serious preparations for the coming elections campaign, including a solid political platform and program documents. All of these issues will have a major role to play in adjusting the political life of the country, he said.

Commenting on the outcome of Sunday's voting on the president's impeachment, Filatov said it proved once again how dangerously unpredictable the Congress can be. He also pointed to the fact that whereas 614 deputies said 'yes' to putting to a vote the issue of recall of the parliament speaker, only 339 of them voted for his resignation.

Filatov said he knew that some of Yeltsin's supporters among the radical factions in the Congress deliberately cast their ballots in favor of the president's impeachment, thereby hoping to prod him to resort to more resolute measures in response to those taken by his opponents. "I don't think they assumed a reputable stance, however," head of President Yeltsin's administration said.

Asked to comment on Vyacheslav Kostikov's reference to the Congress as an "infernal machine," Filatov said, "he certainly has the right to make statements, while, by and large, the president's spokesman is expected to closely adhere to the president's position. Therefore, in his statements he should either relay the president's words, or, at least, coordinate his statements with his patron. I am relatively free in this regard, although I belong to the same team. I don't think the Congress had to be aroused to that extent."

Briefs Press on Referendum

LD3103155193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Mar 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent S. Shatunov] The referendum may be a determining point in the state's life, Sergey Filatov, the head of the presidential administration, stated today at a meeting with journalists. In his view the actions of the opposition show that it is greedy for complete victory, but this cannot be allowed.

[Begin Filatov recording] Unfortnately, we are leaving this Congress without consolidation, without the desire for consolidation. The times are such today that it is necessary to work on the economy, but we, the whole of society, are engaging in politics. [end recording]

[Shatunov] He also said that the president will undertake certain steps to create powerful support for the poll scheduled for 15 April. In the opinion of Filatov, in order to dot all the i's, one question is missing from those being put at the referendum—on a new constitution.

We would like parliament to support the idea of putting this question on the voting sheet, he said. It was also reported that in the near future the president—in addition to his previously planned foreign trips—intends to make several trips throughout Russia, during which he plans to explain the principle issues in his policies. [Video shows news conference in progress, Filatov speaking to journalists.]

Further on Filatov Comments

PM3003155393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Executive Preparing To Submit Its Questions to Referendum"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] As soon as the congress ended the president's weary supporters set off for the office of S. Filatov, the leader of the president's administration. They included people's deputies, representatives of certain regions and the government, and experts. The discussion did not last long. They agreed to meet 30 March at an enlarged conference involving heads of administrations to work out tactics in the light of the new situation. In a short exclusive interview for IZVESTIYA Filatov stressed that the decisions of the Ninth Congress will not stop B. Yeltsin from realizing his most simple and most democratic plan—to submit the question of confidence in the president to nationwide vote. At the same time, approval of the draft new Constitution will also be submitted to the people.

There are quite a few precedents for this in world practice. It is impossible to go on living with the old Constitution. But even this patched-up Constitution has been most flagrantly violated by the congress a great many times, and in the next few days the Constitutional Court will be sent a petition signed by deputies and also by the president which is being prepared by the State and Law Administration. However, the examination of these appeals at the Constitutional Court will not be linked to the nationwide poll as far as its timing goes. The president firmly intends to have the expression of the people's will on 25 April. After all, ultimately everything is at stake: both the reforms and the birth of a new democratic state system in Russia.

We of course will try to comprehensively analyze the situation and find the corresponding legal norms for our further actions. I consider it necessary to restore working contacts with those Supreme Soviet deputies who for various reasons—from disorientation to resentment toward the president—have broken off their ties with the president's structures. It is necessary to unite all healthy forces for the sake of saving democracy. It is in great danger, Filatov stated.

His concern is understandable. Behind the congress passions typical of public rallies and the sad and comic scenes which Russians watched for three days in a row not everyone was able to see the hidden springs which suddenly tilted the audience from one course to another, nor could everyone assess the real danger of a seizure of power by revanchist procommunist forces. Your IZVESTIYA correspondent was told this by a legal expert in the president's team who wished to remain anonymous in view of the impending official appeal to the Constitutional Court.

Behind the scenes at the Ninth Congress, he said, a brilliantly conceived political operation has been carried out which will surely go down in the textbooks for future legal and political scientists. It is connected with the vote to remove the president from office and secure the early recall of the speaker of parliament. The essence of this operation is that within the deputies' corps right now there is a fairly large group of passive deputies—between 120 and 150—who are annoyed with the speaker and disillusioned with the president. In short, they are opposed to both leaders. So it has been decided to use this group to gather the extra votes needed to organize the impeachment of the president and the speaker at the same time. Fishermen call this "using a sprat to catch a mackerel." [passage omitted]

Shumeyko, Fedorov Interviewed on Congress

LD3103025193

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 30 March carries a 60-minute program presented by correspondent Bella Kurkova entitled "Power or Struggle for Power—the lessons of the Congress" from the "On the Political Olympus Program". The program carries recorded interviews with Russian Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko and Vice Premier Boris Fedorov.

In an opening clip, Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko recalls: "At one time, there was a good joke about party congresses. One man asks another: What did the 26th Congress end with? The other says: What do you mean what did it end with? With a big concert, as always! Now it is difficult to say anything about this congress—the congress itself is something like a concert, like a spectacle." Kurkova says that just as a program about the lessons of the Eighth Extraordinary Congress was getting ready to go on the air, another extraordinary congress, the ninth, came along. Poor Russia, she exclaims, adding: "But the stage is the same. The same soloists are at the microphones and the artistic cum political director is also the same. The people are paying for it all." The people, says Kurkova, have "long since ceased to believe in any of this," watching the proceedings on their television screens.

A 29-minute recorded interview with Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko is carried. Kurkova says that even though the interview was recorded at the Eighth Congress it has lost none of its topicality where the Ninth Congress is concerned. Shumeyko recalls how he came to serve in the government. He says much has been done for reforms despite the difficulties. The main thing is for us all to pull together, but, Shumeyko says, "I feel strange sometimes when I see the spectacle that is being played out. I am well acquainted with what is termed the leadership of the Supreme Soviet. Thank God I did some work together with them and I often see that, where the general public is concerned, things have the appearance of being sincere, whereas instead everything is preplanned, all these nerve-racking disruptions, as it were, all these attacks and the like, which come just in the nick of time, all this is precisely according to the scenario, determining the future course of proceedings."

Shumeyko says that this play acting is very costly and is not just a matter of 46 million rubles. He says that the point is that reforms are continuously being dragged out and it is an insult to the people who have suffered so much in the name of reforms to now suggest a different course. Recalling the Gaydar government, which in a very "talented" way set about dismantling the old system, Shumeyko says that "they did, all the same, succeed in destroying the old system and there is no return to it. At present there is simply no return to the command-style economy. This front of national salvation shouts away: let us go back to socialism! It will not come about, it simply will not, even if we all wanted it." But these people are getting on in years, he says, whereas everything that is now being done is not being done for their sake, but for the sake of children who are now in the fifth, sixth, and seventh forms. Shumeyko says there is not enough money to cover everyone's needs but "if social support is targeted, even the budget resources that are already to hand will be enough." The difficulty here is that banks and sources outside the budget are not accountable to the government, but to the Supreme Soviet.

Shumeyko continues: "There are, of course, many and various difficulties, and all of them are currently engendered mainly not by the fact that no one can see a way forward, or how to implement it, but all difficulties are engendered by the fact that there is no united bloc of the kind there used to be at the first or the second congress, when a new Supreme Soviet came into existence and when everyone was inspired by one, single cause—rapping the conservatives." He says that save for those who do not wish to understand, most deputies, when you talk to them alone, understand what is going on. But, Shumeyko goes on, when they all get together, they arrive at completely different decisions.

Power equals more and more duties, says Shumeyko, emphasizing the importance of delegating tasks. He says there are two ways forward: either the course of reforms is completed as soon as possible, with the president and the executive authority as the existing political force capable of doing it, with the support of progressive parties, or the Civic Union option is implemented, cushioning the entry into market relations, doing it step by step, retaining state control of prices. Shumeyko says this is tantamount to renouncing reforms because everything would be dragged out and one does not know how long this process would take. He continues by saying that a political force implementing this second course of action would consist of a government accountable to the Supreme Soviet, or the congress, just like in the old days: the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers.

Shumeyko says: "One branch decides and the other executes. The branch of power that decides does exist—it convenes behind these doors. At present they have taken everything upon themselves. They decide about everything, on everyone's behalf, any question you like, any under the sun. Well, thank god, since they have taken it upon themselves, let them make decisions. But no one here decides about anything and no one bears any responsibility, since we are on the subject." In the words of one deputy, he says, collective responsibility is a form of irresponsibility; so, to have this second option implemented, the president must be removed and hence all these attempts to drive a wedge between the president and the government, like the initiative to have the government made accountable to the Supreme Soviet, or Khasbulatov's remarks that the prime minister has two other premiers, Shumeyko and Chubays. Shumeyko says this was an attempt to drive a wedge between the premier and his deputies, adding that "these attempts will not lead to anything at all, for ours is a normal team."

Shumeyko says critics fear privatization and that is why it is necessary to do as much as possible as fast as possible. "The Communist Party is emerging again and their majority in the Supreme Soviet could, as it were, do something," he says, praising Vice Premier Chubays' unswerving implementation of the privatization program approved beforehand by the Supreme Soviet. Chubays is a firm person with a sense of humor, says Shumeyko, promising to do everything possible to have the privatization program implemented.

Replying to Kurkova's question about the collective mentality of the congress, Shumeyko says we are all products of the previous system. Having removed the Communist Party, he says, the people's deputies have imperceptibly become the new center with the same psychological make-up: if we have a committee, it and it alone can decide on things. The people's deputies fought the center successfully and this fighting spirit has remained with them. The overriding mentality is: If I delegate, what will remain for me to do? Shumeyko goes on to emphasize the importance of delegating tasks as a mark of true manager. If deputies do delegate things, he stresses, they have their "tedious and painstaking" work to create a legislative foundation, a thankless task indeed. Shumeyko adds that no one can see this work, nor, as Kurkova interjects, are there any television cameras about, with which Shumeyko agrees. He goes on to say that "one must not accuse any individual people's deputies; they can only be accused together when they adopt what appears to them to be responsible decisions which, in fact, are completely irresponsible, leading the country nowhere indeed."

Kurkova concludes the interview by asking if the government and the president will have any power left. Shumeyko replies: "A wise man put it very well: power is not given, it is taken."

Next Kurkova recalls the spring of hope in 1990, when Boris Fedorov worked with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy on the 500 Days' program. The program was rejected and both men resigned. Now Fedorov has returned to the government again. A 15-minute recorded interview with Vice Premier Fedorov is carried.

Fedorov replies to Kurkova's question about why he left to work abroad. He says he was not about to remain in the government with his official black volga and a dacha, this was not his task. Fedorov recalls how everyone was engaged in purely political struggle at the time and no one wanted to tackle economic measures. Our proposals at that time were very similar to what Gaydar began to implement later on, he says, adding that he was not about, nor is he about now, to alter his economic principles. Fedorov recalls working in the European Bank and the World Bank, dealing with investment projects for Russia.

During a trip to Moscow, he was told that Yeltsin wanted to see him and it was then that he was asked to return to the government. Fedorov suspects that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays were behind this. The situation now is worse, but a "significant step towards a market economy has been taken," says Fedorov. He goes on to say: "There are tangible opportunities for effecting a normal financial policy. The government is currently tackling this and new Prime Minister Chernomyrdin has taken all these ideas on board, on the whole and he supports them and the president supports them." However, Fedorov adds, "there is a possibility that, all in all, everything will get back to what it used to be, to a situation in which the State Planning Committee comes back, where the Central Bank becomes the state bank."

A return to the past, he says, would be costly indeed but he is not afraid of these revanchist attempts—if something must be done, let it be done now. Fedorov says that so many more people have a different mental make-up now and who could have thought in 1990 that deputies would talk of inflation, budget deficit, and the like. However, he says, the government's hands must be untied. "No government in the world will work under parliamentary diktat," says Fedorov. It is not a normal situation for us to cajole the Central Bank into action, or for us to be unaware of what the pension fund is doing. In essence, no one controls numerous structures which are higher than the executive authority. I am in favor of the Central Bank being independent. Enlarging on this, Fedorov says: "There is not a single country in the world, where the Central Bank would turn into an independent government, pursuing its own, separate, governmental policies, attempting to duplicate the budget and other things." Kurkova interjects at this point adding "being managed by the Supreme Soviet, into the bargain." Fedorov continues: "According to the law, it says that it is accountable, but one sometimes gets the impression that it is somehow managed, or subordinate to it. It is altogether abnormal. There is not a single country in the world, where the speaker of the parliament would have a direct telephone link to the chairman of the Central Bank. In our country such a system does exist, and it is not a question of whether it is to someone's liking, or not; there must be a normal system which will work."

Replying to Kurkova's question about guarantees of further work for him, Fedorov says that "there are, naturally, no guarantees at all at present. The situation that has now emerged at the congress does, of course, demoralize the government, because, of course, many people, especially new members of the government, having spent two or three months examining, let us say, these draft resolutions, according to which it may well happen that the government will be dissolved, come to have no confidence in being able to continue to work normally. I think it is every deputy's duty to come to understand, at long last, that it is ruinous and that it leads towards confrontation—the time has come to put an end to this chaos."

Kurkova asks how does it feel to be suspended in this way and Fedorov replies that what must be done, must be done as fast as possible. Pressed to give examples of what must be done, Fedorov says that "so far almost 2 trillion rubles have been given to the CIS as credits." On what basis this was done remains unknown and the parliament ought to set some limits to this, he says, because "at present, the credits and supplies of ready cash to the CIS account for 25 percent of our inflation." Fedorov adds that currency controls must be tightened up, various subsidies must be reduced, taxation system must be reformed, the budget must be revised, and a system of industrial and agricultural support must be devised. He refuses to give details because all this is under discussion now and various solutions may yet be arrived at.

Fedorov says: "No matter what happens, whether this government is pushed aside, or whether another government takes its place, I am absolutely confident that we will move forward, no matter how much some people may dislike it. You may notice this progress—and it has never yet happened that someone managed to stop history dead in its tracks, no congresses, no politicians either."

Kurkova asks Fedorov if he will run away again. Fedorov says he will not run away, "but I think that, naturally, there may be situations in which the government is dissolved and in which we will not be asked whether we like it or not. But in a year, or two, if not me, others will nonetheless do the same thing because there are economic laws it is not given to anyone to change."

In the program's conclusion, a male voice-over says: "Thus, no matter what the garb the dramatis personae don, no matter what banners they use to disguise their plans, it is perfectly clear that the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies has established an indubitable omnipotence of the soviets. In practical terms, Russia will now have no power other than that of the Supreme Soviet and the congress. Even the television and radio must from now on subordinate themselves to the Supreme Soviet alone. The congress has foisted upon us a caste of high priests who will hand down the law. Naturally, there will be fewer and fewer ideas, until only one idea is left, for everyone to abide by. That is why to exclaim long live 1917 is not out of place. At that time, following in its footsteps, were the terrible, hard, and bloody years 1918 and, even more than the last one, the year 1919. Judging by everything, we have failed to draw lessons from history. Bolshevism is already on the threshold of power. Events in the nearest future will show what all this is going to bring for our people."

Rumyantsev: Centrists Sided With Hardliners at Congress

LD3103162893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1500 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—The latest Congress of Russian People's Deputies signalled a collapse of the Centrist Movement, according to an influential lawmaker.

There were no leaders capable of uniting the centrist forces. The "Civic Union" which claimed the role solidarised with the hard- line "Russian Unity" group, Oleg Rumyantsev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission, told reporters on Wednesday.

Hard-line lawmaker Vladimir Isakov staged a "provocation" while suggesting to impeach the president as [word indistinct] was clear that the congress will lack votes for that, he added.

Rumyantsev blamed the congress for the current constitutional crisis. Lawmakers "did a lot not to adopt a new constitution", he said.

Boris Yeltsin had a possibility to get a new constitution right after the foiled hard-line coup in August 1991, but he "lacked decisiveness and political wisdom" to do that, according to Rumyantsev, who added that the current draft of the main law worked out with his participation "reflects both liberal and socialist ideas which exist in society".

The lawmaker believes that early presidential and parliamentary elections this November are the only way out of the crisis. He added that elections should be preceded by a congress which is to adopt a new constitution or seriously amend the existing one.

Early elections will become inevitable after the referendum on April 25 as it will show "the unwillingness of the people to participate in it", according to Rumyantsev.

He did not rule out a possibility that the referendum may be accompanied by a nationwide poll. The two plebiscites may have different results and the conflicting parties will not recognise those unsuiting them.

Deputies Pleased by Congress Anti-Yeltsin Vote

PM3003135593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 1

[Interview with Russian People's Deputies Ivan Rybkin, Communists of Russia faction, Mikhail Astafyev, Russian Unity" bloc, and Sergey Baburin, Russia faction, by Boris Slavin under the "Snap Interview" rubric; place and date not given: "Bell Has Sounded"]

[Text] Your correspondent asked Russian people's deputies the following question: "How do you regard the results of the vote at the Congress?" This is how they replied:

[Rybkin] The West is learning with surprise today that Russia possesses a constitutional court, a parliament, and a procedure for dismissing the president. Although Boris Yeltsin said in the Trinity Monastery that he obeys God alone, the almost two-thirds of deputies' votes cast in favor of dismissing him from the presidency is a very impressive figure. Only a few dozen votes more were needed for the president's political career to be ended. But it is not arithmetic but the political algebra that counts. The Congress has made it known that the president is pursuing a course of reforms that is ruinous for the country.

[Astafyev] There were forecasts that 50 percent of the votes would be cast against the president. However, we obtained more than 66 percent. That sounds an alarm bell for the president. Now, everything he does will be under the close scrutiny of the majority of the Congress.

[Baburin] I am pleased with the vote; the objective was achieved. We were able to make the president constitutionally accountable. He did not expect so many deputies would see straight. You ask how I voted. I make no secret of it—I voted against both men.

Parliamentary Faction Leaders on Results

MK3103095093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 35 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Kastravets report on remarks by Georgiy Zadonskiy, coordinator of the Radical Democrats faction; and Andrey Golovin, coordinator of the Smena-New Policy faction, under the "Subjectively Speaking" rubric; date and place not given: "Through the Leaders' Eyes"]

[Text] Georgiy Zadonskiy, coordinator of the Radical Democrats faction:

—The most important driving force behind the deputies is the fear for their personal future. It constantly seems to them that tomorrow or the day after the president may have them arrested. In my view, the Ninth Congress has not brought about anything positive. Like any acute action prompted by necessity, the referendum also carries risks and may produce negative effects. When a person is put on a surgeon's table out of sheer necessity, he understands that risk does exist. Of course, an agreement could have been concluded to obviate the need for the referendum. But the congress took the path of confrontation. The prime purpose of most deputies' activity is clear enough: It is to recreate Soviet power in full. An amendment proposed by Vladimir Isakov is a graphic illustration of the scale of this power: "The Supreme Soviet shall have the right to repeal decisions by the government." In this difficult economic situation the government should act in a decisive, prompt, and tough manner, and if it has to glance over its shoulder at the Supreme Soviet each time, we will be unable to achieve anything. The country is now on the verge of hyperinflation. And hyperinflation means the collapse of power and the economy, and universal poverty. But the congress does not think about this.

Andrey Golovin, coordinator of the Smena-New Policy faction:

—People often ask: "Where is the way out of the current situation?" In my view, there is no situation whatsoever, so we do not need to overcome anything. Unlike the electorate or the journalists, we are clearly aware of the congress' scenario, so we know everything in advance; and they, too, know that we know. As a result of the political game Russia is breaking up more and more, because the presidential side has been using the republics' leaders for its own ends in order to stay in power. The Smena-New Policy faction believes that in this situation we must hold early elections.

Television, Radio Director General Discusses Media Freedom

LD3003130393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Excerpts] One of the decisions adopted at the Congress directly concerns journalists working on television and radio, namely a resolution bombastically entitled On Press Freedom. [passage omitted]

We asked Anatoliy Lysenko, director general of our company, to state his views on the situation:

[Begin recording] [Lysenko] We are experiencing equal pressure from the parliament and from the government. Everyone wants to appear on the screen. Everyone wants to address the people by means of television and radio. We should have a law on television. You may remember a sketch once by Arkadiy Raykin [famous comedian, now deceased]; I like it very much. In it, he said he was prepared to give a bribe, but, he said, I ought to know to whom I am giving it, for what purpose, and how much, and I would like a receipt, please. The same rule applies here. We should have a law on television, and a law on parties and movements. Then everything would be clear: who is entitled to appear on television and how much time they are entitled to. All this should be clearly set out in writing, and any breaches should be penalized in the severest way possible, be it breaches on the part of the government or on the part of parliament. [end recording]

Journalists To Give Media Decision to Court

LD3003142293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1315 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report by correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova and Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The top management of the Russian Federation State Radio and Television Company Ostankino has decided at its meeting to submit an appeal to the Constitutional Court requesting that it examine the legality of the "Resolution on Measures Ensuring Freedom of Speech at State Radio and Television and in Information Services," which was passed by the Russian Federation's Ninth Congress of People's Deputies. This decision was elicited by the fact that the resolution violates articles of the Constitution, of the Law on Mass Media, and of many other legal documents, Ostankino told an ITAR-TASS correspondent. Until the Constitutional Court makes a decision, the television and radio company will not comply with the aforementioned resolution.

The appeal to television viewers and radio listeners was adopted at a meeting of the labor collective of the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company. It says that the decision "opens the way for the freedom of unrestricted interference in the professional work of journalists and editorial offices not only by the bodies of power and officials, but also by parties and public organizations". In circumstances when there is no law on political parties, this may turn state television and radio into "an arena of fierce political confrontation and pressure" and "into a destabilizing factor in the life of society," the document stresses. Pavel Gutiontov, the chairman of the Committee for Protection of the Freedom of Speech and Journalists' Rights within the International Confederation of Unions of Journalists, has described the decision adopted by the congress as an example of political ambitions prevailing over common sense.

He is worried by the following question: "If this document was said to be against censorship, why is there then the introduction of censorship?" The journalist is also surprised by the manner in which people's deputies deal with laws, which they actually adopt. The resolution on state television and radio broadcasting does, after all, contradict many legislative acts.

He expressed the belief that laws are being violated by people's deputies themselves. As an example of this he pointed to the latest issue of NARODNAYA PRAVDA, which published an article by Nikolay Pavlov entitled "The Cains of Belovezhskaya Pushcha Should Have Been Shot on the Spot." How can one assess, from a legal point of view, an appeal to eliminate not only the head of one's own state, but also of two others, he asks.

The journalist recalled that at the last session of the Supreme Soviet the draft law on television and radio broadcasting, which proposed regulating its activity rather than surrendering it to the mercy of any power, was killed without explanation.

Pavel Gutiontov reported that the Committee for the Defense of Freedom of Speech and Rights of Journalists intends to make a statement on the decision adopted by Congress.

The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [RMDR] called the Congress decision "an attempt to place 'the fourth estate' under the censorship of 'the power of the Soviets.'" In a statement circulated today, the RMDR stressed that this decision "not only blatantly flouts international legal norms, recognized by Russia's parliamentarians themselves, but also legislative acts which they themselves have adopted." The RMDR voiced resolute support for journalist collectives "which have begun a just struggle for their constitutional rights."

Journalists Protest Resolution

LD3103153893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1455 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—The Moscow Union of Journalists has made a resolute protest against a resolution adopted by the Congress of Russian People Deputies "on measures to ensure freedom of speech at state-owned television and information agencies." The statement said that the resolution brings back the times of Bolsheviks' propaganda and open censorship."

According to the statement, monitoring councils are being established in Russia in violation of the law and that no other countries have ever had a similar practice. The Moscow Union of Journalists is greatly concerned about the fate of television and radio journalists who are subject to dictatorship and unscrupulous interference by the deputies' corps. It is inevitable that journalists objecting to such politics will soon join the army of unemployed, the statement said.

It was pointed out in the statement that the Union of Journalists would apply to the Constitutional Court with an appeal to pass its judgment on the resolution passed by the 9th congress, which violates the constitution and articles of the law on the mass media. Otherwise, collectives of television and radio companies and Moscow journalists supporting them will have to take more resolute actions, the statement said.

Article Views Media Edict

MK3103095693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 1

[Elina Nikolayeva article: "Lenin Started With Mail and Telegraph, People's Deputies With Television"]

[Text] On 28 March an attempt to impose a ban on freedom of activity in television was made and crowned with success. It was contained in the decree "On Measures To Ensure Freedom of Speech in State Television and Radio Broadcasting." Don't you believe it! "Freedom of speech" and so on—it is all a demagogic figure of speech. It sounds fine, but in this case it is cynicism. The decree's aim, even bearing in mind yesterday's amendments to it, is to put television and radio under the control of legislative—that is, Soviet—authority. The point of the deputies' decision is to set up supervisory commissions with functions of authority. They will be free to get rid of unsuitable chiefs and settle scores with journalists. Thus, direct political censorship in the person of political commissars is effectively being introduced. As Press and Information Minister M. Fedotov noted, this was a decree toward which "the deputies have been working their way from Congress to Congress but from which they have been stopping short, realizing that it is too dangerous a step." On this occasion they did not hold back, being prompted to do so by the "general wave of struggle with the president." They started with Russian Television and Radio, because it was the all-Russia company that was founded by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. They are dissatisfied with the way in which the Russian Television and Radio Company treats the Congress' work, and they intend to impose order in what they are sure will be their own patrimony. Many deputies are really gunning for O. Poptsov, whose fate as these lines are being written is still unknown. The popular Deputy Tikhonov from Krasnoyarsk, remarking that "there is no more odious program than 'Vesti,' added that Oleg Poptsov must not work a single day longer with 'such setups.'"

In the lobbies of the All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company this Congress decision was naturally perceived as pressure on the mass media, and as the desire, on the threshold of the referendum, to lay hands on such a great force as television and radio. Yesterday the above statement became public property. At 1900 it was read out on the air of "Radio Rossii" and the Russian Television channel. So far it is simply a warning from All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company personnel concerning their intentions. So far Russian journalists have not really been hindered in their work, but the decree of the people's deputies is contrary to the law on the mass media, which prohibits political interference in journalistic work. But as Mikhail Fedotov noted, the Congress "is under the impression that it can do anything." It is therefore to be expected that, in accordance with Deputy Astafyev's proposal, the Congress will bring the law on the mass media into line with the decree that is so dear to the deputies' hearts.

As we know, the law is not written for the Congress. Congress writes laws itself. This is one thing to rejoice at, until it is able to force everyone to implement them.

'Censorship' Decree Assailed

PM3103130393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 93 First Edition pp 1,2

[Valeriy Vyzhutovich article: "Under Protection of Censorship: Congress Decree 'On Measures To Ensure Freedom of Speech in State Television and Radio Broadcasting' Revives the Traditions of Communist Agitprop"]

[Text] "By adopting this decree we will turn the clock back 10 years as far as glasnost and freedom of speech are concerned," Press and Information Minister Mikhail Fedotov said, trying to warn deputies. But the warning signal had already been ignored...

The turning back of the clock, signifying a return to political censorship, was accomplished by a vote which restored television and radio reporters to the position of "the party's helpers." This time the "party of the deputies." So that every professional employed in broadcasting should know his place. But where is the place of a helper? That is right—it is under a superior's thumb. In this case the thumb of the head of the parliament and the majority of the deputies obedient to him.

In their own way the legislators are right, of course. An independent television and radio service will hardly raise the prestige of parliament when they report on deputies' obscene and unprecedented privatization of official apartments, manipulation of voting, countless violations of the Constitution, and much else that they would like to keep without the comment that it deserves but are failing to do so. That is why they are introducing censorship, something which even Suslov with his agitprop did not dream of.

The congress obliged the state television and radio broadcasting companies to act "in strict accordance with the adopted decree." It establishes that the organs of executive power and their officials "may not be founders of state television and radio broadcasting companies and news agencies, their powers are transferred to the representative organs of power and local self-management." The Federal Information Center and the "Rossiya" Federal Television and Radio Broadcasting Service, which were created by the president's edicts, are to be abolished. Watchdog councils are to be created in state television and radio broadcasting by the representative organs of power. The appointment and dismissal of federal state television and radio company leaders will be made by the federal watchdog council with the consent of parliament.

"Essentially," Press and Information Minister Mikhail Fedotov stated, "a gigantic monopoly is being created to replace the semi-monopoly that exists today when television belongs to different branches of power, when there is a Russian television and radio company set up by the Supreme Soviet, and the 'Ostankino' television and radio company set up by the government." The same opinion was expressed by Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Legislation, who discovered in the text of the decree obvious violations of the Law on the Mass Media. "Before the decree was presented to Congress," he said, "it should have undergone expert legal analysis."

But just such an analysis was conducted the day before by the Russian President's State and Law Administration. Its assessments and conclusions, ignored by the Congress, will probably be presented to the Constitutional Court, to which the leadership of the State and Law Administration intends to appeal.

In the opinion of specialists from the State and Law Administration the first point in the decree is contrary to Articles 1 and 19 of the Law on the Mass Media, which establishes that neither legislative organs nor executive organs and officials have the right to interfere in the activity of the mass media. Meanwhile the decree opens the way to direct interference by legislative organs in the activity of the state television and radio companies.

Point 2 of the decree contradicts Article 7 of the law, which states that **any** state organ may institute **any** means of mass information.

Point 2 of the decree transfers the powers of organs and officials of the executive to soviets at all levels, which is contrary to Article 18 of the law: No one may remove a founder's right without his consent. A founder may transfer his rights to a third person only with the consent of the editorial office and the cofounder.

The creation of watchdog councils under the representative organs of power is also impermissible because this council is essentially vested with the functions of censorship, which is in breach of Article 3 of the Law "On the Mass Media."

Finally, point 4 of the decree, which envisages the appointment and replacement by the Supreme Soviet of the leaders of the television and radio companies, does not correspond to Articles 6 and 31 of the law "On Enterprises and Entrepreneurial Activity," which says: The appointment of leaders of state organs is to be carried out by **administrative organs.**

In voting for the decree "On Measures To Ensure Freedom of Speech in State Television and Radio Broadcasting," the Congress rejected the president's amendments to it.

"This decree seems to make a further war between the two branches of power inevitable," Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration, noted.

"This decree is in direct contravention of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 19 of the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights," members of the Moscow Helsinki Group have stated.

The Congress, having proclaimed the struggle for free speech by the title of the document, has done everything to ensure that this "freedom" is exercised under the protection of censorship.

Referendum Estimated To Cost 20 Billion Rubles

LD3003154393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1500 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—The Russian Parliament has approved an estimated cost of the preparation and holding of the referendum scheduled for April 25, 1993 at 20,402,940,200 roubles.

A back-up sum of 1.5 billion roubles is also provided.

Moscow Mayor on 28 Mar Demonstrations

MK3003113093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 2

[Interview with Moscow Mayor Yu.M. Luzhkov by Lidiya Lukyanova; place and date not given: "Yuriy Luzhkov: 'Anpilov's Followers Were Looking for a Brawl'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Two big demonstrations were held in Moscow Sunday [28 March] under diametrically opposed slogans. Violating a City Hall directive, one of them, led by Anpilov, turned away from the White House and moved toward the Manezh, violating all procedures.

"In this connection the government of Moscow intends to complain to the court about the organizers of that demonstration. The second demonstration was held on Vasilyevskiy Hill and was well organized and disciplined, and nothing appeared to presage any dangers for the deputies," Moscow Mayor Yu. Luzhkov told KURANTY's correspondent. "I had made recommendations concerning the timing of demonstrations: There were more than 80,000 demonstrators on Vasilyevskiy Hill that day. Therefore safe passage was ensured for the deputies from the Kremlin to the Rossiya Hotel. But Deputy A. Golishnikov, who was injured, disregarded the recommendations (all the deputies reached the hotel without incident) and went straight over to the demonstrators. Approaching them, he entered into a discussion with them and, what is more, provoked the crowd. Therefore the deputy was slightly injured."

[Lukyanova] What was the nature of the injured deputy's trauma?

[Luzhkov] A two centimeter contusion on his head. After 30 minutes the casualty left the Sklifosovskiy Institute on his own initiative. I have learned that a vehicle was already waiting for him there. The injured deputy has been so active at the Congress today that he must be thought to be absolutely healthy.

[Lukyanova] Deputy Golishnikov claims that drug addicts and drunks surrounded him in the crowd on Vasilyevskiy Hill. You were not there, but do you possess information?

[Luzhkov] That is a barefaced lie by the deputy. Had he not provoked the crowd, nothing would have happened to him. It was a normal, cultured demonstration. The drunkards were on Manezh Square.

[Lukyanova] Yuriy Mikhaylovich, it was learned Sunday that Anpilov's followers marched along the embankment toward Vasilyevskiy Hill in order to clash with those rallying there. Fortunately, a clash did not occur. How was it avoided?

[Luzhkov] Our task was to keep these two polar political demonstrations apart, but Anpilov's followers brazenly started barging their way—forgive this expression—first toward Borovitskiy Gate, but then they decided to "dock" with the demonstrators on Vasilyevskiy Hill and were promptly turned toward the Manezh, and there were a lot of drunks in that group. They attempted to make their way through Aleksandr Garden toward Borovitskiy Gate and were clearly looking for a brawl. Anpilov's followers, the National Salvation Front, "Working Russia," and other organizers of this demonstration set up platoons. There were a lot of them—small, but vociferous.

Muscovites Polled on Congress

LD3003164293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1525 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—The two thirds of Muscovites said they are watching the conflict of the Russian legislative authority and the Russian president, which reached its climax at the 9th deputies' congress.

A total of 55 per cent of the polled support Boris Yeltsin, six per cent support the congress, and 12 per cent made no comments of the issue. Twenty seven per cent of the respondents said they keep to "neither side," according to the results of a public opinion poll held by the Parliamentarianism Sociology Institute among 1,000 Moscow residents.

Commenting on the poll results, the IZVESTIYA newspaper noted the current stage of the confrontation has become a "powerful catalyst" of pro-president and anti-congress attitudes in society.

Fifty five per cent of the polled support the president's appeal to the people. Approximately the same number considers incorrect the Constitutional Court resolution, which recognized the appeal unconstitutional.

The power conflict has sharply increased electors' political activity. The number of Muscovites, planning to participate in the referendum, has increased from 42 to 71 per cent over the past two weeks.

However, as a rule, "pro-Yeltsin" moods grow at a time of confrontation, and "it would be a mistake to extrapolate the current rating of Russian politicians on results of the April 25 referendum," believes Institute Director Nugzar Betaneli. Everything will depend on a specific political situation, he said.

60 Percent Back Yeltsin

LD3103145193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Excerpt] In Moscow the overwhelming majority of residents intend to take part in a referendum scheduled for 25th April. This is borne out by a poll taken by the Independent Parliamentary Sociology Institute in the Russian capital. [passage omitted]

According to the poll 75 percent of those approached do not approve the work of the just concluded session of Congress of People's Deputies which tried to impeach the President. The Congress decisions are supported by 14 percent of those polled. Sixty percent intend to express confidence in the president at the upcoming referendum while 18 percent will not do that.

Sobchak Urges Referendum Plus Constituent Assembly

PM3103112893 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Mayor A. Sobchak of St. Petersburg by unnamed ITAR-TASS correspondent; date and place not given: "Need To Define Democrats' Actions for the Future"]

[Text] Mayor A. Sobchak of St. Petersburg has said the following in an interview with ITAR-TASS: "The reality is that deputies want to oust the president one way or another, and impose on the country a return to the communist system of rule. With no mass support among the people, conservative, neocommunist forces are attempting to carry out a coup from the top with the support of the Constitutional Court and its chairman Zorkin. By recognizing the right of CPSU primary party organizations to exist, the Constitutional Court is offering objective support to the nomenklatura majority of deputies at the Congress.

"Therefore it is necessary to clearly define the actions of democratically oriented forces for the future. We need to support the president and the government, which is continuing to pursue a policy of economic reform under the most difficult conditions of political struggle. We must definitely hold a nationwide referendum, and, in addition to the question of confidence in the president, it must absolutely include a question on the formation of a constitutional assembly or a constituent assembly to prepare for and hold new elections and adopt a new constitutional law on the parliament. The new parliament should comprise two chambers, drawn from among the population (the state duma) and from Federation components (the federal assembly). Then there will be an opportunity for a legal and constitutional solution to the deadlock.

"The current Congress is incapable of adopting a new constitution, and in the current situation there is not even enough time to hold elections to a constituent assembly. But this leaves the possibility of the option whereby each Federation component delegates a certain number of representatives—three to five, say. These people would set up a constitutional assembly and be charged with adopting a new constitution or law on the composition of a new parliament and the procedure for electing it.

"We need to call on the Congress of People's Deputies to stop nudging Russia down the path of 'Yugoslavization.' We are currently seeing an attempt by the Congress to move matters in the direction of bloodshed. That is the only path deputies can see toward power and communist revenge, which could lead to civil war. This must not be allowed to happen."

St. Petersburg Favors Apr Referendum

LD3103055593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0543 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Maria Matskevich]

[Text] St. Petersburg March 31 ITAR-TASS—At least 59 per cent of all voters in St. Petersburg intend to take part in the April referendum on who runs Russia, according to the poll conducted by the Centre for the Study and Prognosis of Social Processes at the end of March. The survey polled more than 2,000 inhabitants of St. Petersburg, of whom 23 per cent said they would not go to the polls and 18 per cent have not yet made up their minds.

Most activity is shown by those who favour early elections of the deputies' corps—more than two-thirds of them (70) per cent said they would go to the polls on April 25. Those who have no confidence in either the president or the parliament are reluctant to take part—40 per cent of them said they were unwilling to take part in "political gambling" and only 38 per cent said they would cast their ballots during the national referendum.

Yeltsin Supporters in Yekaterinburg Want Congress Outlawed

OW3003171593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1602 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Yekaterinburg, the organizers of the Fund for Supporting the First Russian President, described the resolutions of the 9th Congress of People's Deputies as a "state coup which has deprived the president of his constitutional rights."

On Tuesday [30 March], they circulated a statement which says that "the congress has trampled on the rights of the people" and (the congress - IF [INTERFAX]) "issues calls for violence which the Constitution qualifies as a criminal act incurring punishment." The authors of the document also demanded that the congress of people's deputies be outlawed and urged "all citizens of Russia willing to live in peace and with a legally elected government to announce a people's impeachment of all future congresses of this kind."

Bashkir Leader Urges Yeltsin To Stay On, Hold Early Poll

MK3003144693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA reports" rubric: "Bashkortostan"]

[Text] Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Baskortostan, said in an interview to a NEGA correspondent that "under any option Yeltsin should be retained as president."

In his view, the congress should give its support to the referendum in the form proposed by the president and call early elections in order to get rid of dual power. Rakhimov believes that relieving President Yeltsin of his post would lead to war and civil strife.

Party of Communists Representative on Congress Results

LD3003175293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1632 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—Member of the Russian Party of Communists' Political Council member Sergey Novikov told a news conference the 9th Congress of Russian People's Deputies resulted in "a reviving of bourgeois opposition, seeking to preserve the capitalist way of Russian development".

The party was formed in December, 1991, on the initiative of a number of Marxist-minded members of the former Soviet Communist Party. It has only 5,000 supporters in 46 Russian regions. The party is not part of the Russian Communist Party, as the news conference was told their views differ.

Novikov said "the referendum issue was solved in violation of the legislation", referring to the law on referendum, under which it is necessary to publish referendum questions a month before the set date.

The party supporters are also alarmed with wordings of the questions, which, in the opinion of Novikov, "are completely vague and can be interpreted differently". He also expressed fears of "deputies' censorship in mass media".

In his turn, party Political Council Chairman Anatoliy Kryuchkov sharply criticised the 29th Congress of the Union of Communist Parties-the Soviet Communist Party. In his words, "the congress brought confusion in the communist movement instead of unification", as result contradictions between leaders of the Russian Communist Party and the Union of Communist Parties-the Soviet Communist Party have aggravated.

Communists Hail Official Registration of Party Rules

LD3103121193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 31 Mar 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At a news conference today, leaders of the Russian Federation Communist Party described the registration of the party's rules by the Russian Federation Justice Ministry as a great political victory and a special gift to the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies. The rules were endorsed about a month ago by the second restorative congress. This allowed communists to engage in full-scale political activity, to restore party committees, to publish newspapers, to demand airtime on radio and television, and to have representatives on electoral committees. Communists actively cooperated with factions at the recent Congress of People's Deputies, and its decisions reflect this.

[Begin recording of Gennadiy Zyuganov, identified by caption as chairman of the central executive committee of the Russian Federation Communist Party] There is every possibility now that we can change the course of reforms, form a government of national confidence [narodnogo doveriya], effect a whole range of measures protecting the population socially, and dismiss Yeltsin's closest associates who have been recently conducting these policies. [end recording]

[Announcer] The leader of the Russian Federation Communist Party—which has, incidentally, 2.5 times more members than all other parties combined—believes that nobody supports the president in the country, except for radical journalists, whom he likened to agitators and propagandists of the thirties.

Communist Party Says Yeltsin Suffered 'Crushing Defeat'

OW3103142893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1301 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin suffered a crushing defeat at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, Gennadiy Zyuganov, Chairman of the Russian Communist Party's Central Executive Committee (CEC) said at a news conference in Moscow Wednesday [31 March]. He emphasized that impeachment had fallen short of as few as a few scores of votes. In his view, the executive authorities are now capable of changing the reform course, form a government of national unity, and remove the president's entourage from office.

Zyuganov was not sure that the April 25 results would not be rigged, for it is government officials that are laying the groundwork for it.

Svetlana Goryacheva, MP [member of parliament] and CEC member, said that the questions in the referendum ballots are quite consistent with the Constitution. She explained that if the answer to the question on support of the president's economic policy is negative, then legal grounds will be provided for significant changes to be made in it.

Commenting on the referendum question about reelection of the president and people's deputies, Goryacheva said that if the answers are positive, "it is desirable to think whether the reelections should be held simultaneously." The journalists were also told that the Communist Party of the Russian Federation has obtain a registration certificate in the Ministry of Justice and has now a membership of 600,000. The registration "marks the end of a six months-long marathon of the Communists fighting for restoration of the party."

Poll Records Public Perception of Congress, Politicians

PM3103104793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition p 1

[Opinion poll conducted by All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion: "How Russians Viewed the Congress"]

[Text] The All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions has reported the results of a poll taken Monday 29 March. The poll was carried out by the Moscow department of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions (KOMKON-2) in Moscow, and a total of 1,314 people were polled. All the main social and demographic groups in the city's adult population were represented.

Do you know the people's deputies for your electoral district?

I know both of them	9 percent
I know one of them	18 percent
No, I don't	72 percent
Don't know	1 percent

Do you approve of the activities of the Ninth Congress of Russian People's Deputies or not?

Yes, I do	14 percent
No, I don't	75 percent
Don't know	11 percent

Which side do you think currently has the stronger position—Yeltsin and his supporters or the Congress of Russian People's Deputies?

Yeltsin and his supporters	50 percent
Congress of Russian People's Deputies	15 percent
Both sides	8 percent
Neither side	14 percent
Don't know	13 percent

If the vote of confidence in the president goes ahead, will you vote for or against the president, or not vote at all? [figures in percentages]

	22 Mar	26 Mar	29 Mar
In support of Yeltsin	59	60	60
Against Yeltsin	16	15	18
Will not vote	20	18	18
Don't know	5	7	4

Do you approve of the position taken by Russian Federation Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin in the current conflict?

Yes	39 percent
No	26 percent
Don't know	35 percent

Do you approve of the decree adopted by the Congress "On Ensuring Freedom of Speech on State Television," which puts television under the control of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet?

Yes	22 percent
No	61 percent
Don't know	17 percent

Which politician do you trust most? [figures in percentages]

	22 Mar	29 Mar
Yeltsin	50	50
Zorkin	3	2
Rutskoy	9	10
Khasbulatov	2	4
Chernomyrdin	5	6
None of the above	29	25
Don't know	2	3

Poll Rates Chances of Politicians To Replace Yeltsin

MK3103132693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 14, 4 Apr 93 (Signed to Press 30 Mar 93) p A3

[Stepan Kiselev report under "Prognosis" rubric: "If Not Boris Yeltsin, Who Can Become President of Russia?"]

[Text] Being conscious of the ambition, cynicism, and high degree of adventurism of Russian politicians, it was not hard to foresee that, of all the possible options for the development of events following the president's television address to the people, they would choose the very worst option—a fight until blood flowed. True, they would do the fighting while their fellow citizens' blood would flow. The very best way out of this altercation would be the mutual departure of the fighters—the president and parliament—from the political arena. At least, this is the view of the sensible minority which has contrived to keep a clear head even in the madhouse of Russian politics. They are, however, troubled by a question: Will not early elections of the president and parliament not bring to power still more cynical and still more unscrupulous and cruel bawlers? This has happened before in history—in Germany in the thirties.

To answer this question, the "Public Opinion" fund polled 1,100 citizens of Russia in 14 cities for MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. It asked: "If the election of the Russian president were held today, for which of the listed politicians would you cast your vote?" [Box: Rutskoy—12 percent; Sobchak—7 percent; Gaydar—6 percent; Travkin—5 percent; Yavlinskiy—5 percent; Zhirinovskiy—4 percent; Gorbachev—4 percent; Shakhray—3 percent; Volskiy—3 percent; Baburin—2 percent; Aksyuchits—0 percent]

If Boris Yeltsin participated in the election, he would get 41 percent of the votes of those polled. This is understandable, for the poll was conducted at the critical time of the Ninth Congress, when voters found themselves in a typically Russian situation: They had to choose the lesser of two evils. In order to maintain such a high electoral rating, Yeltsin must continue to stoke up the political situation to those hysterical tones that prevail today at rallies in support of him. But this is a very risky tactic: The start was so quick, and the distance is still so great, that the president will hardly be able to maintain his supporters' enthusiasm at its former intensity, and his rating will most likely fall.

In that case, if Yeltsin does not go the distance for one reason or another—the failure of the referendum or a vote of no confidence—then the possibility cannot be ruled out that the politicians named by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI experts will aspire to the presidency. And in that case there are grounds for optimism.

This consists, above all, in the fact that, the way voters' preferences are distributed today, it is noteworthy that there are no politicians among the first five candidates who personify the "red-brown" threat today. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the most popular permanent presidential candidate in this category, got just 4 percent and, to all appearances, cannot count on any significant broadening of his electoral base at the expense of candidates who are close to him in spirit (Aksyuchits, 0 percent; Baburin, 2 percent). So, if the election is held in the very near future, things "will not be worse": The intransigent opposition has no chance of winning. But this, I repeat, is the present distribution. The possibility cannot be ruled out that, if there is a delay over the issue of early elections, and under conditions of a very severe economic crisis, the voters' mood will tend toward those candidates who promise them lots of arrestees in the literal sense of the word.

In the present distribution the position of Aleksandr Rutskoy, Russia's current vice president, is somewhat disconcerting. His position appears strong, however, only at first sight: Given the inevitable regrouping of forces in the course of the election campaign, he will hardly be able, just as in Zhirinovskiy's case, to widen his electorate sufficiently to achieve victory at the expense of candidates leaving the field.

Conversely, the chances of victory for the "new-generation" politicians (Gaydar, Yavlinskiy) seem preferable, despite their lower rating than Rutskoy's. While not having the publicity enjoyed by active politicians today, they nonetheless own solid reserves "for growth": They might be supported both by the intelligentsia (which is considerable support, since the intelligentsia influences public awareness) and by the new class of businessmen (which means finance), which has a vital interest in a consistent, predictable, and sensible policy.

In any event, to judge from the first gauging of public opinion among voters, an early presidential election will not result in a reversing of history or the restoration of the communist regime. And yet is it this that we fear?

Editor Tretyakov Comments on Ninth Congress

MK3003103493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Tretyakov commentary: "Victory for Democracy. One More Such Victory and There Will Be No One Left To Win"]

[Text] The Ninth Congress, in my view, has clearly demonstrated that we have crossed the line separating democracy that came as a windfall to our people from farcical democracy. We have long passed the finest stage of democracy, but we shall have to go back to it if we do not wish to live on the ruins of what used to be called Russia.

Sadly, neither side can be said to have looked better than the other in the farce played out Saturday and Sunday. Neither the one that permits, as it were, North American Indians to impose order along the borders of a nuclear power with tomahawks and spears, nor the one that shot itself in the foot by first conceiving the idea of unseating Ruslan Khasbulatov, then hurling itself at his feet exclaiming: "Save us and show mercy." All that is mutual fear, the worst possible counselor in politics.

Although no instantaneous political tragedy took place—it proved possible to remove neither Yeltsin nor Khasbulatov—the nature of the final events at, and around, the congress is obvious. The question of "What is all this for?" still suggests to me the same old answer—the most ominous forecasts are coming true, and the most candid assessments of all participants in the farce are being confirmed. The Moscow intelligentsia—together with the Moscow plebs, which is a pity—are taking an active part in this (this lends a somewhat civilized air to what is taking place, though.)

But there is the question: Is it worthwhile paying attention to these trifles if it is democracy that is threatened? It is, because the threat emanates from these "trifles," among other things. New people alone, coming to power through elections, would save us. As for those in power at present, one can only wish they do not at least ruin us.

Article Warns Victory 'Still a Long Way Off'

PM3003193193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 93 First Edition p 1

[Otto Latsis article: "The Failure with the Impeachment—Still Not a Victory"]

[Text] In the heightened struggle the president of Russia is increasingly frequently making inaccurate moves. He surely should not have appeared at the Ninth Congress, he should hardly have entered into talks with the Congress: The referendum announced by the president himself had already handed the fate of power to the supreme authority—the people. There is even greater doubt about the expediency of the new agreement that has been proposed—to cancel the referendum and hold early elections to the presidency and parliament in November.

However, you can find certain arguments in favor of this agreement. Ultimately early parliamentary elections should have been one of the main results of the adoption of the new Constitution at the referendum. The agreement produces that result straight away without a referendum—admittedly in exchange for a new concession: the reduction of the president's term of office.

Mistakes, unfortunately, are an inseparable feature of the politicians' trade. And talk about the politician's mistakes is normal. It is becoming increasingly difficult to hold a normal discussion about the work of the Congress. You cannot talk seriously about the mistakes of a horse which goes mad, bolts, and leaps without looking where it is going, threatening to destroy itself, its rider, and everyone in its way.

On Saturday, in advance of all this, everything had gone along in the best traditions of previous congresses. From the rostrum a woman deputy fervently blamed the president for everything that has gone wrong, tearfully explaining how hard it is for her to manage the state: It took her 18 months to learn to read the laws. Voters not too busy at that particular moment to listen to the live relay gave the customary sigh: But my dear, why did you keep silent before? At the preelection rally you should have said that you were tackling something that was beyond you—you would have been given time to learn.

But on Sunday the Congress went into a spin. This was unexpected: On television it had already been suggested that the Congress had been incited by certain phrases in the draft decision. Perhaps that is so, but we remember too many facts (beginning with the privatization of deputies' apartments) which make us view every decision by parliament in terms of deputies' personal interest. The referendum? Yes, if it takes place and if there is a vote for a new constitution, it will need further work, a law on elections still needs to be adopted, and a date for those elections needs to be set—that will take at least a year, and a lot of water will pass under the bridge in a year. Then, just think, elections in November and it's goodbye to your cherished seat as a deputy. Understandably deputies were so incensed after a draft decision like this that they made up their minds to oust Ruslan Imranovich himself for his attempted compromise.

Let us leave aside the conjecture and recall what is not in doubt. Let us recall HOW they tried to adopt the decision to remove from power a president elected by all the people. Without a discussion. By a secret ballot. The vote to hold the impeachment vote in secret was also held in secret. The inclusion of the question on the agenda was also decided in secret. But by open ballot the day before the question was not included on the agenda! Obviously we do not need to ask whom they are learning from: Clearly it is from those who elected them.

The majority of the deputies have lost not only their sense of shame but their instinct for self-preservation. It suddenly appeared to them that they were about to catch up with an exhausted victim—it needed one last leap. The growl of the majority in response to any objection was horrifyingly reminiscent of what we heard at the final CPSU Central Committee plenums on the eve of the August putsch. What happened to them? Did they sense the enemy's weakness? The analysts still have to examine that one.

For the time being let us note one thing. The Congress not only confirmed the low standard of political morality of the majority of deputies, about which much has been said already. The Congress not only confirmed the low professional level of the majority of deputies, which has been talked about just as much. The Congress confirmed its fundamental inability to work because of its general design defects, even leaving aside the personnel makeup. On Sunday, having temporarily put R. Khasbulatov, its skillful shepherd, out of action by posing the question of his dismissal, the Congress showed that it is incapable of managing itself and what is more is a danger to society and to itself. None of the majority wanted to consider that if the impeachment succeeded our country—the world's largest nuclear arsenal—would move closer to the brink of civil war. There was uproar: They did not want to listen to deputies speaking about that. None of them gave a thought to the fact that R. Khasbulatov's dismissal would make the Congress incapable of working—after all, they are not going to elect a new speaker now.

The danger passed. That day it passed. How many more days will we have live next door to an unpredictable parliament?

But after the vote, speaking on St. Basil's Hill, the president was inaccurate again. Not when he thanked the participants in the rally for their support but when he spoke about the victory of the people. The defeat of reaction's psychological attack is still not a victory for the people. Only the people's impeachment of the Congress in the course of the referendum is a victory. Even that is not final. The democratic change in the composition of the parliament as a result of future elections is certainly not guaranteed. Rapid victory over the economic crisis and inflation is far from guaranteed.

Victory is still a long way off, and the path toward it is difficult.

Commentary Says Congress Opens Way for 'Third Force'

PM3103135593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Commentary by political scientist Boris Pugachev: "Third Force Rising on Political Horizon"]

[Text] The prestige of all branches of power declined swiftly in the Congress infighting. That is its most negative result. The damage sustained by the leaders of all branches of power—B. Yeltsin, R. Khasbulatov, and V. Zorkin—is unquestionable.

The vote on removing B. Yeltsin from office in view of the "events of 20 March" almost ended in political disaster for him. Half the deputies who voted for him in the elections for the post of chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet are now implacably opposed to him. The 617 votes cast at the Congress in favor of removing Yeltsin from office are evidence of the deep, insurmountable gulf between the two branches of power.

The political concessions made by R. Khasbulatov in referring for consideration by the Congress the "joint" presidential-governmental draft Congress decree elaborated behind the scenes could well have had fatal consequences for him as well. Only the deputies' fears of harming themselves by removing the head of the legislative assembly saved R. Khasbulatov on this occasion.

Next time the Congress will not forgive such "errors." The reproaches to V. Zorkin were most unfair. The Constitutional Court was inevitably dragged into the political process by virtue of its very role as constitutional arbiter. And its role is the trickiest in conditions of the implacable "warfare" between the branches of power.

So in all cases the decline in the moral prestige of all branches of power is the most disturbing symptom of the general crisis of Russian statehood. That is the first result.

The "events of 20 March" and the subsequent actions by the authorities, including those during the Ninth Congress, increasingly legalize unconstitutional methods of behavior for them during the intensifying struggle. If the actions of the Russian Federation president on 20 March are described by Ruslan Khasbulatov as an attempted coup d'etat yet the Congress effectively fails to react to this, this can mean only one thing: The legalization of such actions by the executive branch is on the way. This is extremely dangerous for the stability of the very state system in Russia, for it leaves unpunished the highest authority when it is resorting to actions that it knows are illegal. And judging by the recent remarks of the Russian president, he has not drawn proper conclusions for himself from the "events of 20 March." That is the second important aspect of the results of the Congress.

Third, the referendum scheduled by the Congress has transferred the confrontation "at the top" to society itself. I am sure that the reason the executive branch needs the referendum is not in order to approve its policy. The president's policy will not secure such approval in conditions of total crisis, the disintegration of the USSR, and the weakening of Russia in a referendum requiring the support of a majority of registered voters. Both he and his entourage are perfectly well aware of this. Confidence in Yeltsin is declining swiftly, and the organized rallies merely camouflage the true situation.

I am sure that the referendum itself will be used by the executive branch as an instrument of political struggle against the legislative branch. Obviously, the president will probably countenance a referendum only on his own terms, ignoring the corresponding Congress decree. Such actions, if the president ventures to take them, will not only wreck the upcoming referendum but will also bring society to the brink of large-scale civil conflict.

Fourth and last: The recent political events have resulted in the weakening of all branches of power. The danger that a "third" political force will come to the fore is increasing more and more. It is being strenuously emphasized today that the Army is outside politics. But this does not mean that political feeling among the army is indifferent. According to sociologists, in November 1992 just 19 percent of servicemen supported the government and only 30 percent supported the president. The Congress, as a "nomenklatura" representative organ, showed a similar trend among the management elite too.

Disillusionment with current leaders will inevitably lead to the emergence of new ones. The 72 deputies' votes by which the motion to impeach B. Yeltsin fell short came between A. Rutskoy and the presidency. A. Rutskoy has his own "charisma" and is the only political leader who has not made major mistakes and has retained his reputation.

Whether he likes it or not, a leader like A. Rutskoy is placed in the role of spokesman for that "third" force. It could be called various things—"centrists," "moderates," and so forth. It is precisely the inevitable emergence of this "third" political force on the political scene that is the fundamentally new element in the development of the future political situation in the country.

The work of the Congress and other political events of recent days have sharply destabilized the whole political situation in the country and have made it hard to forecast, politically unstable, and apt to swing in any direction and lead to the instant restructuring of all political vectors of policy.

Political Issues

Kostikov Says Yeltsin 'Feeling Fine'

PM3003133793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Mar 93 Single Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: " 'President's Face Was Slightly Swollen'"]

[Text] Russian Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov has refuted rumors of a deterioration in Boris Yeltsin's health. Behind the scenes at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies he stated before the start of the session that on the whole the president is "feeling fine."

Vyacheslav Kostikov admitted that "the president's face was indeed slightly swollen." But it had to be admitted, as he put it, that a week ago Boris Yeltsin had buried his mother. "He has been through a lot. There has been a huge amount of psychological stress on him," the press secretary noted. Moreover, "he has been sleeping very badly at night" lately—just two or three hours—as a result of the great strain.

"To relax yesterday the president played tennis during the recess and returned to the Congress straight from the court," Vyacheslav Kostikov reported. He resolutely refuted the allegations from political opponents that there were other reasons for the president's tired appearance.

Yeltsin Meets Chernomyrdin in Kremlin

LD3003135693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Today the president of Russia and the prime minister of the Russian Federation Government had a prolonged discussion in the Kremlin. An RIA correspondent has learned from circles close to the President Boris Yeltsin that he believes that under the present conditions the union between the president and the government is the basis for stabilization and social peace in the country.

Yeltsin, Abdulatipov Discuss Interethnic Relations

LD3103153793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1300 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar—Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, had a meeting with Boris Yeltsin today and encountered "full support and understanding from the president with regard to preserving integrity and peace in the Russian Federation." The people's deputy revealed this at a news conference for journalists on the occasion of the anniversary of the signing of the Federal Treaty.

However, in Abdulatipov's view, "the president's moral support for the Federal Treaty is not transformed into a political and legal mechanism by his entourage." The head of the parliamentary chamber emphasized that various matters that could contribute to relieving tension in the regions were discussed at the meeting, particularly in connection with the presidential decree, "On Reforming Military Structures, Border and Interior Troops on the Territory of the North Caucasus Region of the Russian Federation and on State Support for Cossacks", which is being used by extremist sections of the population in their own interests.

Abdulatipov discussed with Yeltsin a range of stabilizing measures and, in particular, introducing amendments to the decree. Joint ways of strengthening interethnic relations should be sought, That, in the words of Ramazan Abdulatipov, was what the meeting was about.

Commentary on Duties of New Yeltsin Aide

MK3003133693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 10

[Mikhail Lashch commentary: "New Appointment in Presidential Staff. New Administration Will Take Over Relations With Parliament]

[Text] Gennadiy Veretennikov has been appointed, by the president's edict No. 397, head of the presidential staff administration for work with the territories, with the president's representatives, and for relations with the Russian Supreme Soviet. KOMMERSANT-DAILY comments on the new appointment, as was promised in its Saturday issue.

Gennadiy Veretennikov, 47, finished the Higher Party School. Before being elected people's deputy, he worked as director of the Novopetrovskaya poultry factory in the workers settlement of Tuchkovo. In November 1991, he was appointed the president's representative for Moscow Oblast. He has the status of an individual member in the parliamentary "Reforms Coalition."

According to specialist estimates, Gennadiy Veretennikov was distinguished for professionalism as the president's representative for Moscow Oblast. Veretennikov's colleagues say that he "literally stayed put in the rural rayons" trying to get things going there.

Gennadiy Veretennikov's appointment to head the administration for work with the territories is seen by political observers as good for the president. First, Veretennikov has vast experience working with heads of administrations and presidential representatives. Second, Veretennikov is an experienced administrator, something that should help him get the new administration working.

The administration for work with presidential representatives is a fundamentally new structure within the president's staff. This administration will partly fulfill the functions of a control administration—the presidential representatives service that earlier was part of the control administration has been made part of its structure. (True, the Ninth Congress discusses abolition of the very institution of presidential representatives.)

Now the head of the administration for work with the territories will routinely regulate work with administration heads. The most formidable task before Veretennikov, according to observers, is to improve links with parliament, whose relations with the president have of late sharply worsened.

It is, however, premature to speak about the administration's work because it only consists of Veretennikov himself whereas its status is yet to be confirmed.

Article Says Rutskoy 'Should Resign'

PM3103113593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition p3

[Article by Stanislav Kozlov, president of Russian Association of Independent Military Scientists: "Crisis Does Not Help Resolve Army Problems"]

[Text] I think that the institution of the presidency should be preserved during the current transitional period. That does not mean that it should be enshrined in Russia forever. However, the former executive led by the president is essential now, when the economy is extremely unbalanced and sliding into utter chaos.

I am puzzled by the stance espoused by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. To be more precise, by his lack of a clear stance. If the vice president does not agree with the president, he should resign, as is customary in civilized countries.

One should not hide the fact that discontent is building up within the Armed Forces over the failure to resolve many problems. The lack of military doctrine, the uncertain status of Russian military formations and associations in the states of the former Soviet Union, and the difficulties involved in withdrawing troops from there and providing them with amenities in their new bases are not increasing the military's optimism. And the current political crisis is by no means helping to resolve these questions. And the military are aware of that. That is why, despite disagreeing with a number of the executive authorities' decisions in the sphere of defense development, the overwhelming majority of them are, I believe, nevertheless inclined to back the president, who is capable of stabilizing the situation.

Space Issues

'Cosmos-2238' Satellite Launched for Defense Ministry

LD3003130693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1238 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Mar—The Cosmos-2238 satellite was launched at 1600 Moscow time today from the Baykonur cosmodrome by a "Tsiklon-M" carrier rocket. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the press center of Russia's space-military forces that the satellite was launched in the interests of the Russian Defense Ministry.

Parameters Given

LD3103104093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 31 March—Another artificial Earth satellite, Cosmos-2238, was launched on 30 March from the Baykonur cosmodrome.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research. The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution—92.8 minutes; apogee—443 km; perigee—413 km; orbital inclination—65 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus the satellite carries a redio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to Earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus. The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

'Progress M-17' Automatic Cargo Craft Launched 31 Mar

LD3103070393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0641 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar—In accordance with the program of further work on the "Mir" scientific research complex, the "Progress M-17" automatic cargo craft was launched at 0734 [0334 GMT] today. The aim of the launch is to deliver the necessary materials and various cargo to the "Mir" manned complex. The "Progress M-17" has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: apogee - 238 kilometers; perigee - 187 kilometers; initial period of revolution - 88.5 minutes; orbital inclination - 51.6 degrees.

According to telemetric information, the apparatus aboard the automatic cargo craft is working normally.

Military Issues

Deputy Minister Says Forces 'Short of Personnel'

OW3003133693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1313 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The Russian armed forces are not completely satisfied" with the law On Military Service and Military Conscription recently passed by the Russian parliament, Deputy Defense Minister Valeriy Mironov told Interfax on Tuesday, commenting on prospects for this spring's call-up. He said his ministry was going to propose that parliament either revise or suspend putting into force its provisions concerning conditions for exemption from national service. Russian forces are desperately short of personnel, he said.

Service on a contractual basis, currently being introduced in Russia, could not solve the problem in one year, Mironov said. It might be about ten years before the system worked, he said.

Su-15 Aircraft Destroyed in Compliance With Treaty

LD3103094793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] For the first time in Russia, operational aircraft of the Russian Armed Forces were destroyed in Samara Oblast in line with the treaty on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe. A total of four Su-15 interceptors of the air-defense troops were cut up and turned into scrap metal in front of inspectors from armed forces of six NATO states.

According to the head of a group of inspectors, (Radan Madisson), the NATO inspectors are fully satisfied with this form of destroying interceptors. Vyacheslav Shornikov, a representatives of the Volga military district headquarters, told journalists that 40 Su-15 interceptors are to be turned into scrap metal in the military district in the coming month, which is practically the entire air-defense regiment.

Defense Minister Plans To Curb Press Freedom

MK3003134093 Moscow DEN in Russian No.12 28 Mar-3 Apr 93 (Signed to Press 25 Mar) p 4

[S. Timofeyev, "Soviet military journalist" report under the "Letters From the Army" rubric: "Our Chief Censor"]

[Text] A general in NATO-made pants, Mr. Grachev, has taken on the military press. Oppressed, frightened military journalists, although they have been currying favor with the powers that be in a servile fashion, are not trusted by the occupation regime all the same.

Speaking recently at the Defense Ministry collegium, Grachev heaped devastating criticism on the military mass media for their passive attitude and weak support for the minister's efforts.

He was reasonable enough to pass over in silence the aims of these efforts, for they are aimed at breaking up the Army, disarming this power [derzhava] before NATO, persecuting officers' assemblies, and expelling patriotically minded generals and officers from the Armed Forces.

The minister launched an unexpectedly scathing attack against the weekly, SYN OTECHESTVA [Son of the Fatherland]. Little, allegedly, is written about the minister. As if the panegyrics in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA are not enough for him.

Other organs of the military press were also taken to task. Some people were promised dismissal from these publications by 1 May, others by 1 April. Many journalists' collectives are threatened with devastation, including the popular magazine, SOVETSKIY VOIN.

Rumors are rife that soon the military press will be placed under the command of Agapova, "the general in a skirt," who is all but the prime adviser of the defense minister. Even today, as his press secretary, she personally commands General Staff officers to stand at attention in order to scold them.

She also has an adviser, a certain Kosarev, a friend of Ignatenko—a well-known former press secretary of the equally well-known former president. This is the company which harbors designs to stifle definitively our military press: Money must be saved... Apparently, not all Russian generals who have become the heirs of Vlasov [World War II collaborator with the Nazis] have had their dachas built yet....

Research Center Converts Missiles to Civilian Uses

PM2903133593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Mar 93

[By Sergey Slipchenko from Plesetsk; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Slipchenko] This rocket has already been adapted to civilian purposes. No treaties have been signed yet, but a scientific research center in Moscow is already working on converting missiles into civilian rockets. Look: it has no wheels, no cabin, and no engine—in fact there is nothing to make this missile mobile and thus capable of being fired from any point at other countries. The launch of a communications satellite is being rehearsed here—it is being put into orbit at an altitude of approximately 200 km. In the future, this rocket, which will theoretically be a five-stage one, will put payloads of 550 kg into orbits at 700 km.

It was interesting to watch the foreign guests taking photographs of all these stilts. This is one of the conditions of the START II treaty. All conversions carried out by the KOMPLEKS scientific and technological center are connected with this treaty. This rocket went into production nine years ago. Just imagine how many of these we now have in our country.

Have we opened up a world market with this launch, or not? Am I right in thinking that there are practically no systems like these in the world?

[V.I. Bolysov of the Strategic Rocket forces] I am deeply convinced that this is so. Eliminating missiles by launching satellites is no doubt the most rational, logical, and correct way.

General Mironov on 'Gloomy' Army Situation

LD3003161893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1510 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—By 1995, about 400 thousand Russian Army officers will not have flats of their own, 220 thousands of their spouses will be jobless, 100 far-away garrisons will not have pediatrists, scores of thousands of officers' children will not be able to attend pre-school establishments.

Colonel General Valeriy Mironov cited this gloomy statistics on Tuesday addressing the international scientific conference "Moral and spiritual upbringing of the servicemen in Russia and the U.S.A.," which is being held at the Humanitarian Academy of the Russian Armed Forces here in Moscow.

Speaking on the social and economic situation in the Russian Armed Forces, Mironov drew attention to the following: The army lacks scores of thousands of tonnes of foodstuffs, fuel and lubricants.

This year, only 20 to 25 conscripts out of each hundred will actually enter the service. According to Mironov, there is no firm hope that the number of those serving under contracts will increase under the circumstances. However, one hundred thousand "contractual" conscripts are planned for 1993.

The Russian Defence Ministry is doing its utmost to reduce the social tensions in the army, Mironov said. A draft state programme for the social security of the servicemen and a conception for their upbringing have been worked out and soon will be considered at the collegium of the Defence Ministry. Humanization of the military education system and missionary assistance on the part of various religions are of utmost importance to moral and spiritual development of soldiers and officers, he noted.

Major General Laurence Newe, president of the International Military-Christian Association, shared his views on increasing the prestige of army service with Russian officers.

General Matthew Zimmerman, chief chaplain of the U.S. Army, and General Bernard Lefke, chief of the U.S. Operational Group for Russia, have also arrived in Moscow to participate in the conference.

Group Commander Says Army Stays Out of Politics

PM3103101993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 1

[Interview with Colonel General M. Burlakov, commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces, by unnamed correspondents; place and date not given: "Colonel General M. Burlakov: We Do Our Job and Leave Our Sympathies and Antipathies at Home"]

[Text] In a brief conversation with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents the commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces, reacting to current events in Moscow, said the following.

[Burlakov] It is characteristic of history that it repeats itself. It is as if it deliberately offers people the opportunity to learn, to consolidate what they have learned, and to build up what we call historical experience. Recent years have offered men in uniform quite a few good object lessons from this standpoint.

The most important of them is that the army should do what the people have entrusted it to do. It should be protected against the influence of political battles so that it can prepare itself for battles of a different order in a planned and systematic way. Whether they should exist or not is a different issue. By acting in this way the army remains one of the main bulwarks of nationwide stability.

The Western Group of Forces, geographically remote from the area in which political passions are seething today, is nevertheless fully aware of the nervous, irregular pulse of Russia and Moscow. Does this irregular pulse influence the solution of the problems facing the Western Group of Forces? I can state with a sense of utter responsibility that it haas virtually no influence. The staffs and troops are continuing to work in accordance with a strict plan, that is to say, they are doing a whole range of work connected with maintaining a high standard of combat readiness, the daily training of personnel, and preparation of units for home redployment and their actual withdrawal.

We bear a special responsibility. We are stationed on the territory of a foreign state, in the center of a united Europe. Our partners are able to judge us by our conduct, by the extent to which we really adhere to the proclaimed principle that the army remains outside politics. There have been many telephone calls recently to me and the Western Group of Forces press center. The Germans are disturbed by what is happening in Moscow. Some of them have begun to fear or even suspect that the group might be put on a state of condition 1 readiness, suspend the withdrawal, and so forth. The Western Group of Forces issued an immediate and unambiguous statement on this score that no modifications whatsoever will be made to the forces' activity. Such an official statement was met with satisfaction.

There is another side to all this, of course. The Western Group of Forces' servicemen are human beings. And whatever may be said about the neutrality of the Armed Forces in the political struggle, each individual person in uniform has his own view of what is happening. The television images of the current reality of life back home cannot leave him impassive, since he will be there, that is to say, in the thick of the social problems, tomorrow. He has to set himself up, to acquire accommodations, and to solve a mass of other material problems. Is this possible in conditions of economic and political instability? The answer, in my opinion, is obvious.

It is perfectly natural therefore that sympathies and antipathies should develop in everyone of us. But, be that as it may, we continue to carry out the task with which we have been charged. And we leave our sympathies and antipathies at home.

General Says Army Guarantor of Stability, Peace

LD3103144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1319 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—"In our confused, ravaging and angered Russia" a man wearing a military uniform, loyal to the Constitution and his duty, is a guarantor of stability, peace and security. It is this constructive position taken by the Russian Army that does not allow our nuclear power to let itself be involved into a spin of civil war," Colonel-General Dmitriy Volkogonov, master of historic and philosophical sciences and presidential adviser for problems of defence and security, said at an international Russo-American conference currently held at the humanitarian academy of the Russian Armed Forces.

"Under conditions of the existing crisis of power our armed forces are performing the role of a socio-economic stabilizer," Volkogonov said. In his opinion, soldiers and officers of the new Russian Army are advantageously distinguished against the background of certain degradation of society by their strong spiritual values going back to the glorious history of the emperor's army. This is inspired by the wish of Russian servicemen to see Russia strong, democratic and flourishing, Volkogonov said.

"At the request of President Boris Yeltsin I visited several strategic nuclear facilities," the general said. He pointed out that the situation there was normal—officers and soldiers were honestly doing their military duty despite socio-economic difficulties.

"if it had not been for coup d'etat, a Union treaty would have been signed on August 20, 1991, and the USSR would have been spared the sad disintegration," Volkogonov said. "At the same time, a chance had not been lost yet of creating a voluntary confederation of several sovereign republics of the former Soviet Union," he added.

Later, the conference was addressed by Major-General Bernard Lefke, U.S. director of an emergency group for Russian affairs.

General Outlines Draft Military Doctrine Provisions

PM3103105193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 7

[Report by Roman Zadunayskiy: "Russia Will Keep Its Powder Dry"]

[Text] In April 1993 it is planned to hand over the main provisions of the military doctrine elaborated at the Russian Defense Ministry for examination by the Security Council and Russian Government and parliament. The Russian Federation Defense Ministry does not conceal the elaboration of its doctrine. Major General G. Ivanov, chief of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry directorate for military organizational development and reforms, "reveals" the latest developments in the five [as published] sections of military doctrine: military-political, military-technical, military-social, and the main one—military doctrine itself.

Commenting on its military-political section, General Ivanov immediately stressed: "We do not deny that right now, despite the fact that the likelihood of large-scale wars has been reduced, they could happen." Proceeding from this premise, military doctrine lays down the following postulates: Russia adheres to the principles of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, respect for states' sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, and nonviolation of state borders. Russia does not treat any state of the world as its enemy and will not use military force against any other state unless it is attacked. Russia resolutely rejects the use of military force as a means of resolving any political conflicts unless it is connected with military violence threatening the vitally important interests of the individual, society, and the state, General Ivanov noted. According to the doctrine's provisions we shall take part in implementing peacekeeping operations under UN auspices but only if that accords with the Russian Federation's interests.

The strategic aim of using the Armed Forces in large-scale war is to defeat the aggressor, prevent a conventional war from turning into a nuclear war, and persuading the adversary to end the war on terms according with Russia's interests. In all cases the use of force and troops is in accordance with the Russian Federation Constitution. The use of the army in the interests of a domestic political struggle is ruled out. It will be viewed as comprising actions aimed at undermining the country's defense capability.

According to G. Ivanov the tasks which the doctrine imposes on the Russian Army include the need to "detect" promptly in conjunction with the foreign intelligence service and the foreign, internal affairs, and security ministries, an armed attack which is being prepared against the Russian Federation or the threatening development of such a situation and to inform Russia's supreme leadership of the fact. They also include the maintenance of the strategic nuclear forces at a level which ensures that damage can be done to an aggressor under any conditions.

That phrase contains a lot, the general noted. We do not intend to be the first to start a nuclear war but the level of the Russian Federation's strategic nuclear forces must be a guarantee of stability and the prevention of a large-scale conventional or nuclear war.

That is the Russian Army of 1.5 million men (the USSR Armed Forces numbered 6 million) must find completely new approaches in order to guarantee our country's security under the conditions of the present economic and political crisis. Here military doctrine provides for the retention of the combat potential of the peace-time groupings of troops and general-purpose forces at a level ensuring the reliable deflection of an attack on a local or regional scale.

The doctrine includes the mobile defense concept on whose basis is the renunciation of the principle of building an equally strong defense all along the perimeter of Russia's borders. Our armed forces have a five-category structure and, in General Ivanov's opinion, if we redistribute the personnel's numerical strength among them we will never be able to have ground forces capable, as was the case earlier, of reliably covering Russia's borders along their entire perimeter and repelling aggression. Here the creation of mobile forces compensates for the drastic reduction in the numerical strength of troop groupings in peace-time and will ensure if necessary our military presence in any spot.

We also have a different view of military-technical policy, General Ivanov said. Its main task is the comprehensive equipment of the Russian Army with modern, sophisticated weapons and the Russian Federation Defense Ministry must act as the main customer for arms and military equipment systems.

Officials Cited on Arms Exports Issues

PM3103110193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 93 First Edition p 4

["Weapons" roundup, based on POSTFACTUM, RIA, NOVOSTI, and INTERSEPT materials]

[Text] Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the Committee on the Defense Sectors of Industry, announced that this year Russia intends to increase sales of armaments abroad.

Glukhikh stressed that Russia has earned the reputation of a conscientious state in the world arms market, by observing all the UN conditions banning, in particular, the sale of weapons to trouble spots.

Henceforth Russian weapons and cartridges will bear the "Made in Russia" label, Sergey Bezverkhiy, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Standards announced.

According to him, Russian weapons used to be sold without this mark, so it was "done on the sly and at giveaway prices." "Russian laboratories have been checked by international commissions, and the conclusion is that the Russian Federation can issue certificates of quality and trade in weapons and cartridges within the framework of the international convention authorizing the trade in firearms," Bezverkhiy said. But, according to him, in order to be able to participate in the convention, Russia has to make a large hard currency contribution.

Russia may use the income from arms exports for the needs of the oil complex, a senior source close to the Russian Government said. He also noted that the decision to invest this money in the oil-extraction enterprises "will be made if we manage to sell weapons worth at least $6 billion."

Mikhail Maley, adviser to the Russian president on the conversion of the military-industrial complex, admitted that the reorientation of the defense industry to the needs of the civilian economy is impossible without reviving arms exports. Hitherto about 20 percent of the equipment for the Russian oil industry has been produced by military-industrrial complex enterprises.

According to information from government experts, the state arms-exporting companies Oboroneksport and Spetsvneshtekhnika intend in the very near future to accelerate the advance of Russian weapons into the markets of Asian-Pacific region and Near East countries.

The current situation in the world arms market is characterized chiefly by stiff competition, but Russia has a real chance to take up strong positions in this sphere.

This was stated by Major General Sergey Karaoglanov, chairman of the Oboroneksport foreign eocnomic association. According to him, many types of Russian firearms proposed for export, as well as armored, artillery, and aviation equipment, meet world standards or are superior to foreign makes.

"The arms trade is not only a matter of dollars, but also involves political interests, which Russia has, like any other country," the general noted. He announced that there was approximately a three-fourfold reduction in Russian arms exports last year. He believes Russia has lost some of its purchasers—Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Yugoslavia—for purely political reasons. Nonetheless, Russia obtained approximately the same profits in the form of currency and goods as in 1990-1991 from fewer deliveries last year.

Supreme Soviet

Joint Session of Chambers To Discuss Yeltsin's Decrees

LD3003085193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0805 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Today, at a joint session of the two chambers, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet will study President Boris Yeltsin's decree of 27 March "On the introduction of a state of emergency on the territory of a part of Prigorodnyy rayon and the adjacent areas of the North Ossetian Republic, and part of the Nazranovskiy rayon of the Ingush Republic."

There will probably also be debates on three other verdicts by the head of state, including the decree "On the activity of executive bodies in overcoming the crisis of power" issued on 20 March.

The preliminary agenda distributed to deputies before the session also includes the question "On the estimated cost of holding the all-Russian referendum on 25 April 1993."

Session To Last to End of Week

OW3003132893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1313 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Russia made a decision Tuesday [30 March] that its session will continue until the end of the week. Earlier, first deputy chairman Yuriy Voronin had spoken of starting a week long vacation March 31.

Interfax's parliamentary correspondent reports that Thursday or Friday parliament will debate a bill, proposed by the New Policy group, on addenda to and amendments of the referendum legislation. One of the group's leaders, Igor Muravyov, said that "referendum legislation should be brought in line with the resolution adopted by the Ninth Emergency Congress of People's Deputies."

The procedures to be followed by the Supreme Soviet until the April 25 referendum will be discussed Tuesday.

Before the week ends, the standing parliament will discuss, in particular, the state border bill, raising minimum wage and the environmental situation in the Sea of Okhotsk.

Agenda Outlined

LD3003123993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy from the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow—live or recorded]

[Text] Today the Supreme Soviet is holding an emergency session to discuss, above all, the decree of the president of the Russian Federation on the declaration of the state of emergency in a part of Prigorodnyy rayon of North Ossetia and a part of Nazranovskiy rayon of the republic of Ingushetia. This decree should be endorsed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

It is also planned to discuss the estimate of expenditures on holding the all-Russian referendum and to discuss decrees of the Russian president, which were suspended or cancelled by the decision of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, which has just concluded its work.

For an hour now already here at the Supreme Soviet the discussion of additional questions has been under way. The deputies suggested that these questions should be included in the agenda of today's session or a session in the very near future. Earlier it was planned that the session of the Supreme Soviet will resume its work only next week. This week the deputies will return to their constituencies to meet voters. Now, however, it seems likely that a decision will be adopted, nevertheless, that this week the Supreme Soviet will continue its work.

In particular it was suggested that a series of draft laws on social problems, for example, on the increase in minimum wages from 1 April should be adopted urgently. There are other acts which should come into force beginning 1 April. Of course, their adoption cannot be delayed for long. The deputies made some other proposals. For example, Deputy Bokov appealed to the Supreme Soviet to dismiss Krasavchenko and Kovalev, chairmen of Supreme Soviet committees, from their posts because of their statements at the Congress of People's Deputies which did not coincide with the opinion of the majority of the participants of the Congress. Many people's deputies who did not agree with this settlement of the problem made speeches concerning this question. They expressed the belief that it would be a violation of human rights and that essentially Krasavchenko and Kovalev in this case would be exposed to persecution for their ideas. The Supreme Soviet, therefore, did not include this question in today's agenda.

Deputy Astafyev also made a speech on behalf of a new deputies' faction called Freedom of Speech [Svoboda Slova]. He wanted the Supreme Soviet to support Nevzorov. The deputies will discuss today whether not to include this question in the agenda. This is how the work of the Supreme Soviet is continuing at the present time. Essentially, however, they have not discussed the questions on the agenda yet. The Supreme Soviet is still working out its agenda for today.

Speeches Noted

LD3003125193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Some of the deputies who left the Great Kremlin Palace yesterday turned up in the hall of the Supreme Soviet this morning. The parliamentary session that started two hours ago is considering the president's decrees on the activities of executive bodies for the period until the power crisis is overcome, on the president's local representatives, and on state support for Cossacks. Our special correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov reports:

[Osipov] It is a safe guess that parliament will lay special stress on the unconstitutionality of these documents. The session is presently being addressed by Sergey Shakhray, who is substantiating the draft decree on the imposition of a state of emergency in Prigorodnyy rayon and the adjoining areas of the North Ossetian Republic and part of Nazranovskiy rayon in the Ingush Republic. I cannot yet give you any details, since the discussion has only just started.

Among other issues included on today's agenda one could mention the question of raising the minimum rate of salary and of rates in funds outside the budget. [sentence as heard] The Pensions Fund budget is also likely to be discussed this week.

I have to say that the political storm has moved from the Congress to today's session of the legislative assembly. Thus, Deputy Tikhonov insisted in his speech on discussing the question of dismissing Oleg Poptsov, chairman of the All-Russian TV and Radio Company. This issue is likely to be examined later in the week, but so far it has not been included on the agenda since one of the chambers, the Soviet of Nationalities, voted against it.

Deputy Mukusev also asked to hear a report from a commission that works on the problem of monopolization in TV, not political monopolization though, but unprofessional [neprofessionalnyy] and fiscal [denezhnyy] monopolization, which, in Mukusev's words, exists at TV and radio companies.

Another deputy, Bokov, tried in his speech to remove from office [Sergey] Kovalev, chairman of the Committee on Human Rights, and [Sergey] Krasavchenko, chairman of the Committee for Economic Reform [and Property]. He accused them of subversive activities against the Supreme Soviet. However, another committee chairman, Mikhail Mityukov from the Committee for Legislation, urged parliament to be sensible and not to persecute colleagues for their political views.

Procurator General Criticizes Russian TV

LD3003141393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report by Sergey Suntsov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As was said yesterday, extreme issues necessitated the calling of a session of the Russian Supreme Soviet. But the agenda was not announced, and therefore everyone waited with some agitation to see what would take place in the White House today. Our correspondent reports: [Suntsov] [passage omitted] Sharp discussion was aroused around the question of the replacement of Oleg Poptsov, chairman of the All-Russian TV and Radio Company, and also about the "600 Seconds" program and the attempts to censor it. People's deputies and Procurator General Valentin Stepankov recalled frequent violations of the law by the station. The procurator general declared that such violations are taking on a mass character. He accused the Ministry of Information of exercising insufficient control over observance of the law and proposed that the question should be addressed as a whole on the situation in the mass information media.

The agenda has become such that the session is faced with working for a minimum of one week rather than one day. [passage omitted]

Decree on Ossetia, Ingushetia Approved

LD3003143793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1340 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—At a joint session of the two chambers today the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation approved President Boris Yeltsin's 27 March decree "On the introduction of a state of emergency on the territories of part of Prigorodnyy Rayon and of adjacent areas of the North Ossetian Republic and part of Nazranovskiy Rayon of the Ingush Republic."

This rule will be operational from 1400 on 31 March to 1400 on 31 May. It is being introduced because of the intensification of the situation on part of the territory of the North Ossetian Republic and the Ingush Republic, and mass disturbances which occurred there and which were accompanied by violence and the use of weapons and military equipment, as well bearing in mind the immediate proximity of the warring sides.

This decree by the president of the Russian Federation abolishes the state of emergency which used to be in force over the entire territory of North Ossetia and all of Ingushetia.

Supreme Soviet Sets Minimium Monthly Wage, Salaries

LD3003161693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1527 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—A resolution of the Russian Supreme Soviet set the minimum monthly wages and salaries at 4,275 roubles since April 1 to be equalled to the minimum pension.

The minimum wages and salaries does not include additional payments and bonuses.

Further on Wage Debate

LD3103103393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1950 GMT on 30 March broadcasts a 15-minute video report on the days proceedings in the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet.

The announcer starts by saying that after approving the agenda, the deputies debated the president's decree on extending the state of emergency in a few areas of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. Presidential representative Shakhray and republican leaders took part. After the debate, the decree was approved.

Aleksandr Petrovich Pochinok, chairman of the Commission for Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices, then submits an estimate of the expenditures for holding the referendum. He says: "A decision on expenditures for holding the All-Russian referendum on 25 April 1993 is being submitted for your attention"

Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Voronin suggests that the first part include the words: On the basis of the expenditure estimate, the Russian Federation Government is to be allocated the necessary financial funds; it should also indicate where that money is coming from.

The deputies then vote in favor of holding the referendum. There are 149 votes in favor, none against, and no abstentions.

Social Policy Commission Chairman Mikhail Lvovich Zakharov takes the rostrum to talk about raising the minimum wage from 1 April. He refers to Article 2 of the law on that subject passed on 13 November 1992 which says that the recalculation of the minimum wage takes effect from 1 April 1993 and is carried out once every three months, taking into account the 1.9-fold rise in prices in the past three months. He proposes setting the minimum wage at 4,275 rubles [R] from 1 April; this will equal the minimum old age pension which has been in force since 1 February.

A deputy asks whether this figure of R4,275 is consistent with a report that Yeltsin has issued a decree on a minimum wage of R4,500. If this is true, what sense is there in adopting R4,275?

An unidentified government representative explains that the figure of R4,500 mentioned in President Yeltsin's decree is not a minimum wage but the wages set for the lowest paid workers in the budget sphere, and that the setting of a minimum wage is a matter for the Supreme Soviet. Setting a minimum wage means that all other wages will be raised accordingly.

Deputy (Trumov) says raising minimum wages is inflationary and will force enterprises into bankruptcy.

Zakharov replies that the Constitution, which must be strictly complied with, says the minimum wage and other social payments must not be less than the subsistence minimum.

Zakharov admits that agricultural enterprises in particular are now frequently paying less than the minimum, but this is no reason for not raising the minimum wage.

In reply to a deputy's question, Zakharov confirms that on this matter the government has no fundamental objections.

Another deputy refers back to the statement that decisions of this kind increase inflation, and says inflation is mainly determined by the exchange rate and other factors.

In reply, Zakharov points out that the Supreme Soviet is now catching up with the president's decree and that this raising of the minimum wage by itself has virtually no effect on inflation. But the fact that other wages will subsequently be raised does have some effect on inflation, but this has already been done in accordance with Yeltsin's decree in the budget sphere.

Deputy Yeremin quotes the proposal by Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, on raising the minimum wage to R4,275 and says he believes the wording of the Supreme Soviet law is preferable.

Deputy Chairman Voronin puts the law on the minimum wage to the vote. It is passed in the Soviet of the Republic—93 in favor, none against, and no abstentions—and then passed in the Soviet of Nationalities—87 in favor, two against, and no abstentions.

Deputy Chairman Voronin then give the go-ahead for an article-by- article debate.

A government representative says it has always been the case that the minimum wage is set by the Supreme Soviet, but the size of the grants and benefits tied to the minimum wage is set by the president or the government. He proposes that the government be given the opportunity to resolve this question. He suggests that the wording adopted should be that contained in the past law on raising the minimum wage.

Zakharov denies that the government or the president set the size of grants is incorrect; it is the Supreme Soviet which does this. In his decree, the president adopted our norms and calculated the grants in accordance with our norms, but this does not mean that we must hand over the control of this matter to the government and the president. "The rights of people are established only by the legislative power and not by the executive power. So, the level of grants to students must be set at the level of the Supreme Soviet".

The law on the minimum wage is put to the vote. It is passed in principle in the Soviet of Nationalities by 87 votes in favor, none against, and no abstentions.

The announcer says the session also discussed contribution rates to pensions, insurance, and other funds. The evening session examined the sending of petitions to the Constitutional Court on the president's decrees.

Cossacks Issue Raised at Supreme Soviet Session

PM3103102793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary observer Andrey Sharapov report: "Sixth Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Session: Great Deal Staked on Political Card. If Not Everything"]

[Text] At a joint session of the chambers 30 March deputies decided to work until the end of the week and leave for their electoral districts after 2 April.

Economic problems made it necessary to examine questions of financial policy. According to Alvin Yeremin, chairman of the Committee for Industry and Power Generation, enterprises' mutual debts have already topped 5 trillion rubles and over the last two months 2,400 enterprises have "stood idle" because of this.

The question of censorship of television and radio broadcasting was raised again. In the opinion of a member of the interim parliamentary commission studying this problem, there is no political monopolism on television, what there is instead is a monopolism of unprofessionalism, the fast-buck mentality, and a lack of probity. Procurator General Stepankov stressed that the law on the mass media is being badly implemented by television, printed publications, and the Ministry of Press and Information itself.

Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray submitted to the parliament for ratification the draft presidential edict "On the Introduction of a State of Emergency on the Territories of Part of Prigorodnyy Rayon and Adjacent Areas of the North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and Part of Nazranovskiy Rayon of the Ingush Republic." The state of emergency on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia expires 31 March. The intention is to extend it for another two months solely on part of the territory, and for this purpose to terminate the activity of the former administration and form a new administration on the above territory, led by Yuriy Shatalin. Sergey Shakhray denied the "Vesti" program report that Russian troops in the conflict zone may be replaced by formations from the Confederation of Caucasus Peoples. Dialogue in this respect is essential, as are observers from the neighboring Caucasian peoples as well as possibly the formation of peacekeeping subunits. However, there can be no question of any replacement of Russian troops by formations from an unregistered organization.

Time and again discussion of this issue "developed" into a debate on the presidential edict on the Cossacks. The presidential side thinks that time is running out for the state to use the positive elements [pozitiv] within the Cossack movement, which constitutes a form of the self-revival of the Russian people. Illegal forms of this phenomenon must be resolutely suppressed; however, it is on the whole essential to subordinate the Cossacks to legislation. In particular, the law on public associations and the law on self-government must be enforced on this issue. Paramilitary Cossack formations may lessen the acuteness of the problem of the Russian Army draft—two sets of draftees (those drafted 2 years and 18 months ago) will be leaving the army at the same time in the fall. In the opinion of Aslanbek Aslakhanov, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Legality, Law and Order, and the Fight Against Crime, the Cossacks are becoming a political card, and the emergence of the edict may worsen the already tricky situation in the Caucasus.

Shakhray Denies Reports of Talks

OW3003134393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1313 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, Chairman of the State Federation and Nationalities Committee, has denied the report that he has been negotiating the replacement of Russian troops in North Ossetia and Ingushetia by units from the Confederation of Caucasian Peoples. On the other hand, he told the Supreme Soviet Tuesday [30 March] that he supports sending observers who represent neighboring Caucasian peoples to North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

The vice-premier thinks that peace-keeping units of Ossetian and Ingush veterans of the Afghan war can be set up to maintain law and order in the region where the state of emergency was declared.

Speaking of the March 15 presidential decree on state support of Cossacks, suspended by the Ninth Emergency Congress, Shakhray said that "in the North Caucasus Cossacks are a force without which ethnic conflicts cannot be resolved."

Because Cossack units "are a fact," the decree, Shakhray thinks, will enable them to act within the law. By that decree Cossack organizations are covered by legislation on public organizations and local government (the clauses on atamans governing stanitsy, Cossack settlements), and the law on military conscription and military service, for Cossack units are to be incorporated into the armed forces and interior units of the Russian Federation.

Shakhray emphasized that the parliament-adopted legislation and resolution have brought about so many delays and exemptions that the army is on the verge of collapse for shortage of conscripts. The vice-premier warned that the government intends to ask the Supreme Soviet to suspend those acts, "otherwise we will not have an army next fall."

Parliament Meeting Discusses Forces in Germany

OW3003192893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1854 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Interfax has learned that the Russian parliament's closed-door session this Tuesday [30 March] night, which was chaired by First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Yuriy Voronin, was addressing a draft resolution on the inventory and real estate of the Western Group of Forces stationed in Germany. The parliament decided to direct this draft for further discussions to the parliamentary commissions and committees concerned. After that, a closed-door session of the Supreme Soviet is expected to consider it in mid-April.

The other issue which was to be addressed at the session was the draft statute of the Supreme Soviet's security service, the law on its establishment having been passed in early March. One of the members of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet told Interfax that since this law invokes too many questions, it was decided to assign the corresponding commissions and committees to finalize it. The original draft statute authorizes the administration of the Supreme Soviet's security department to be involved in private entrepreneurship activities.

Khasbulatov Signs Decree for Parliament Press, TV Service

OW3003193793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1855 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to a well-informed source, on March 30, Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov signed the decree on the reorganization of the parliament's press center into a press service. The official announcement of the news is expected to be made on Wednesday [31 March].

Yuriy Marechenkov, Khasbulatov's aide in charge of the media, has been appointed to the post of acting head of the press service. Prior to Dzhokhar Dudayev's coming to power, Marechenkov had been the chairman of the Checheno-Ingush State Committee for Television and Radio.

Khasbulatov has abolished the posts of the press center's deputy heads. His press secretary will simultaneously perform the duties of the deputy of his aid in charge of the media. The new press service has been fully reorganized. The sector in charge of the work with parliamentary reporters has been annulled and a sector for organizational work established.

The parliament's press service will have a TV and radio channel of its own. The leaders of the press service have been instructed to select personnel for the new bodies within two weeks.

Deputies Object to Congress of Ukrainians in Sevastopol

OW2903145093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1341 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Numerous people's deputies of Russia have signed a statement objecting to holding a congress of

Ukrainians in Sevastopol and are concerned over events in Sevastopol and the Black Sea fleet. A total of 368 deputies have signed a statement which they submitted to the secretariat of the Ninth Congress.

According to the document, "owing to destructive actions of certain quarters in Ukraine" the events in the city are taking a new turn which has a dangerous bearing on the ethnic relations." In their drive to "claim their rights on Sevastopol" these quarters, the statement says, resorted to an extreme step, "trying to play the national Ukrainian card and rely on radical nationalistic forces." The Russian deputies refer to the intention of Ukrainian MPs to hold a congress of Ukrainians in Sevastopol. The statement describes this as an attempt "to change the balance of power by demonstrating the presence of large scale Ukrainian movements for consolidating the city's Ukrainian status." According to the Russian deputies, "the Ukrainian leadership continues its destructive tactics of unilateral decisions and actions that are capable of destroying the fragile stability of the situation in Sevastopol and the Black Sea fleet and turn the dispute on sovereignty over the city, which could be resolved in a civilized way, into an unresolvable ethnic problem."

Regional Affairs

Defense Minister Grachev Visits St. Petersburg

Meets Military Commanders

LD3103110293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] The working part of the visit by Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, to St. Petersburg started today with a conference with the commanders of the troops of Leningrad Military District. The minister will be paying particular attention to improving the combat readiness of the troops of the district, refining the command system and also to a range of problems relating to taking volunteers on for contract service. In accordance with Russian law, henceforth only soldiers who have volunteered and signed a contract may be sent to serve in the hot spots of Russia and the CIS.

Today's program for the defense minister includes visiting the district training center and the city military registration and enlistment office.

Stresses Military Neutrality

OW3103131193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1256 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian armed forces will continue to maintain political neutrality, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said at a meeting with the senior commanding officers of the Leningrad Military District in St. Petersburg on Wednesday [31 March]. He said that, no matter what forms political struggles between different political structures took, the military would never interfere in them, and that any political activity within the armed services would be cut short in keeping with the law on defense. However, the armed forces should support the authority elected by the people, he said.

Grachev said that, at its meeting in Brussels on March 29 and 30, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council expressed its approval of the Russian military's neutrality during the current political crisis.

The minister said the strongest criticism against the Russian military had come in Brussels from the commanders of the armies of some former Soviet republics, in particular those of Ukraine and Estonia. Ukraine remained a nuclear power, which meant there could be "a second and a third Chernobyl," Grachev said. In his opinion, the world community could take more active steps to help Ukraine attain a nuclear-free status.

Commenting on his statement to the effect that Russia was going to suspend the withdrawal of its forces from the Baltics, he said the reason for this was the short-sighted and unreasonably tough policy of Estonia and Latvia on the issue. Russia was going to pull out its troops from those states "in a civilized manner." The task could not be carried out successfully before relevant bilateral agreements were signed, including those on the financing of the withdrawal and on social security guarantees for the servicemen, he said, citing Lithuania as a perfect example of the way the problem should be handled.

Grachev said that, at their meetings with him in Brussels, the U.S. under defense secretary, the British and Canadian defense secretaries, the Spanish and Belgian defense ministers, and the supreme allied commander, Europe, stressed their countries' desire to live in peace and develop contacts with Russia, including in settling and preventing local conflicts.

Commenting on the situation in the former Yugoslavia and NATO's proposals for additional sanctions, Grachev said a better analysis was necessary of their possible consequences.

Grachev arrived in St. Petersburg on Tuesday evening. The purpose of his visit, he said, was to analyze the current restructuring of the Leningrad Military District, which is becoming a district of the first strategic echelon. He is going to check the standard of combat training in the district and urge its command to make better arrangements for restationing forces arriving from the Baltic states. Thus, 29 units and 350 officers are expected to come to the district this year. Last year, 2500 officers came. Six thousand flats will be built for officers this year, 2000 more than last year.

On April 2, Grachev will be visiting Severodvinsk and Plesetsk.

Grachev told reporters on Wednesday that, before the Estonian and Latvian defense ministers agreed to meet him, no problems concerning the pullout of Russian forces from those countries would be solved. "We are not going to withdraw our forces from the Baltics unsystematically," he said.

The sooner the relevant agreements were reached the sooner the Russian forces would leave, he added.

Notes Concern Over Ukrainian Weapons

LD3103133693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1108 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 31 Mar—Russia is concerned about the safety of nuclear weapons stationed on the territory of Ukraine, Army General Pavel Grachev, Russia's defense minister, announced in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent today in the Leningrad Military District. To avoid another Chernobyl, he said, the world community could take more effective measures to give Ukraine non-nuclear status. Grachev indicated his concern to colleagues at the meeting of defense ministers of countries in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which took place on 29 March in Brussels.

Outlining his position on the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic states, the minister announced that this process can only be successfully carried out if interstate agreements regulating the mutual obligations of the sides are concluded, and if the questions are settled regarding social protections for the Russian-speaking population remaining in the Baltics.

Grachev gave Lithuania as an example where, in his words, these problems are being solved in a civilized manner. The minister said that there was understanding of Russia's position at the bilateral talks with heads of the military departments of the United States, Great Britain, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland that took place in Brussels.

St. Petersburg Mayor Urges Constitutional Assembly

OW3003194393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1855 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoliy Sobchak expressed hope that "all sides shall come to realize the necessity of convening a constitutional assembly" in the course of the April referendum. This point of view was expressed during the conversation with J. Attalis in Moscow Sheremetyevo-2 airport on Tuesday [30 March].

A. Sobchak also thinks the Congress has brought the country close to a split, however, thinks the mayor, the majority of the population of Russia supports Boris Yeltsin, for it knows "despite all the mistakes he has committed," the president remains an adherent of the democratic choice.

A. Sobchak thinks that despite all difficulties currently existing, serious shifts in the spheres of price stabilization and production are soon to come. That is exactly why "further introduction of disorder into the economy" has to be stopped now, in order to change the situation for the best with the help of a "sensible program."

The mayor of St. Petersburg has arrived to Moscow to meet Viktor Chernomyrdin, who shall be on his way to St. Petersburg on Thursday to confirm a city-wide development plan.

Further on Yeltsin Decree on North Caucasus Emergency

Welcomed by Ingush President

LD3003155193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1435 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Mar—Ingushetia's President Ruslan Aushev, who spoke in the Russian Federation parliament today, stated that he supports the Russian president's decree "On introducing a state of emergency in the territories of part of Prigorodnyy rayon and the adjacent localities of the North Ossetia SSR, and part of the Nazranskiy rayon of the Ingush Republic," which was submitted for ratification by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. He stressed that after the decree has been brought into effect, "people should take up not weapons, but the tools of labor."

Addressing the deputies, he advocated that the Russian Federation troops concentrated on the border with Chechnya should be brought into the emergency zone.

Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the North-Ossetian SSR, commented that the Russian Federation president's decree should facilitate the establishment of peace in the North Caucasus, and that the North Ossetian side agrees to carry out all points of the document in the form in which it was submitted to Russia's Supreme Soviet today.

No Deployment of Forces

OW3103143793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1258 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kim Tsagolov, an adviser to the chairman of the Russian State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs, has denied reports to the effect that Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray discussed with a delegation of the Confederation of Caucasian Peoples the possibility of having Russian forces in the zone of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict replaced by the confederation's detachments.

Tsagolov told INTERFAX on Wednesday [31 March] that the situation in the North Caucasus was extensively discussed at a Russian-Chechen meeting of March 26, which centered around a set of problems Russia and Chechnya had come across in their negotiations.

According to Tsagolov, Shakhray had reminded the Chechen delegation of the decree of the Russian Justice Ministry qualifying the confederation's activities as unconstitutional. For that reason alone, Tsagolov said, deployment of the confederation's detachments in the region was something Russia could not accept.

Tsagolov said both sides stressed the need for a Russian-Chechen dialogue, including talks with confederation officials, in order to stabilize the situation in the North Caucasus by joint efforts.

Update on Latest Situation

LD3003135193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1324 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 30 TASS—Late March was relatively calm in the armed conflict zone in Ingushetia and Northern Ossetia, as the situation is generally stable despite specific fire exchanges.

The Russian peace-makers fully control the situation. But the crime situation is extremely difficult, the temporary administration headquarters reports.

The check point number 15 was put under automatic gun fire by unidentified persons at approximately 1:30 on March 29 in Novyy Redant, the Ingush Republic. The army detail opened response fire. There are no casualties among the servicemen.

Ethnic-Ingush S. Barkinkhoyev and M. Timurziyev, two active participants in large-scale riots during the Ingush-Ossetian conflict from the Chermen settlement of the North Ossetian Prigorodnyy region, were detained on March 28 by the Russian Procurator's Office criminal investigation group. They are accused of attacks aiming to steal fire arms, ammunition and material of the army unit number 3186. Both of them illegally resided in Nazran.

A total of 54 persons have been detained for violating the curfew, 13 crimes and incidents have been registered, about 5,000 cars have been inspected and 35 trucks, carrying without corresponding documents to Armenia 250 tonnes of gasoline, 18 tonnes of diesel fuel, seven tonnes of oil and 20 tonnes of non-ferrous metals, have been detained over the past 24 hours. Seven house arson, including four repeated, have been reported over the same period.

Sources at the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet press center told ITAR-TASS, republican parliament head Akhsarbek Galazov said the information on the Russian president's decree "on the continuation of the state of emergency regime" of March 27 broadcast by the Russian TV cannot be considered official. He insisted on the revision of specific decree provisions, which dwell on powers and activities of the people's deputy council in the state of emergency zone.

First deputy head of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Yuriy Piragov has held a conference with participation of republican Supreme Soviet presidium members, officials from the republican law-enforcement bodies, members of the federal commission on hostages and missing persons, representatives of public organizations and relatives of North Ossetian missing citizens.

The conference discussed additional measures to find those missing.

According to the information of the North Ossetian Interior Ministry's press center, two patrol battalions are being formed on the basis of disbanded units of the Republican Guard and volunteers, which have been recognized illegal. Today the recruits took the oath to protect order, peace and tranquility of North Ossetian citizens and the republican borders.

State of Emergency Introduced

MK3103092493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report under the rubric "North Caucasus": "State of Emergency: Hearing in Russian Parliament. Vladikavkaz Intends To Modify Yeltsin Edict"]

[Text] Yesterday the Supreme Soviet confirmed Boris Yeltsin's edict "On the Introduction of a State of Emergency on the Territory of Part of Prigorodnyy Rayon and Localities Contiguous to It in the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic and part of Nazranovskiy Rayon, Ingush Republic." The edict was signed by Boris Yeltsin on 27 March. According to Sergey Shakhray, the president's representative, parliament was presented with an altered version of the edict. Ingushetia President Ruslan Aushev stated that this version had not been agreed with him, and that he favors the previous one. Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetia Supreme Soviet, on the contrary, supports the edict submitted to the Supreme Soviet yesterday. He described the old one in negative terms, saying that it breached the Constitution and the Federation Treaty. The issue is that the original version suspended the activities of the local soviets in Prigorodnyy Rayon, North Ossetian SSR, and Nazranovskiy Rayon, Ingush Republic, whereas in the new one this provision has been dropped. Only executive bodies must take orders from the Provisional Administration "related to the implementation of measures envisioned by the state of emergency." Mr. Galazov believes that the curbing of soviets' powers means the introduction of federal rule. That explains why General Aushev supports this measure.

According to the edict, a state of emergency is imposed from 1400 on 31 March to 1400 on 31 May 1993. The state of emergency regime affects parts of Prigorodnyy, Promyshlennyy, and Sovetskiy Rayons, part of Leninskiy Rayon in Vladikavkaz, and part of Pravoberezhnyy Rayon. In the Ingush Republic, a state of emergency is imposed in part of Nazranovskiy Rayon.

Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin has been appointed head of the Provisional Administration, and Major General Vyacheslav Ulybin his deputy. Sergey Shakhray refuted the claim that General Kotenkov is staying back to organize Cossack troops: He was in the North Caucasus on an assignment, and he is now going back to head the state legal administration of the Russian president.

Edict 'Recalled' for 'Further Review'

MK3103085293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Natalya Pachegina report: "Territory of State of Emergency Shrinks, Regime Gets Tougher. It Suits Neither North Ossetia nor Ingushetia"]

[Text] The edict signed by the Russian president on 27 March, which declares a state of emergency in some areas of Prigorodnyy Rayon and other adjacent areas of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic and also in some areas of Nazranovskiy Rayon of the Ingush Republic from 31 March to 31 May of this year, was recalled by the president's office "for further review," a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent learned from confidential sources. It proved short-lived, according to a theory held by Vladikavkaz, because Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, phoned the president's office and proved to the head of state in a well-reasoned manner the danger of "possible consequences of this step."

The edict itself, according to commentaries by the president's press service, was aimed at stabilizing the situation in the regions where "mass disturbances and interethnic conflicts took place accompanied by the use of arms and military equipment on the part of the population." That same document repeals, beginning 31 March, the state of emergency in the rest of both republics' regions, which was in effect there from 2 November 1992. According to the edict, for the period of the state of emergency (which was what evoked a sharply negative reaction at least in North Ossetia) a Provisional Administration is to be established as a special form of government in the aforementioned areas; executive bodies of the local soviets of people's deputies will report directly to the administration. At the same time, and this is "a novelty" in the edict, the operation of the soviets themselves for the emergency period will be suspended. Rallies, demonstrations, and other public gatherings, including strikes, will be banned until after 31 May. Arms and munitions will be "temporarily" seized from citizens, enterprises, and organizations. In addition, the edict envisions a number of measures to enforce the state of emergency. The president appointed Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin, former deputy to former Provisional Administration chief Kotenkov, to head the Provisional Administration "within the new framework." According to the Vladikavkaz authorities, Kotenkov won great prestige, which could not go unnoticed by Yeltsin, as a result of the Ossetian-Ingush talks that produced a joint agreement on 20 March. Now that he leaves the post of Provisional Administration chief, Kotenkov will be sent to resolve Cossack problems in the Russian Federation, sources close to the North Ossetian parliament said. On 31 March, according to the press center of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, the ceremony to mark the handover from Major General Aleksandr Kotenkov to Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin, the new Provisional Administration chief, will take place.

Vladikavkaz, preoccupied with the problems of the spring sowing season, is much more interested in ensuring security of field work along the border with Ingushetia. In the past few days of good weather alone, the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet press center said, more machine operators working in the fields have become victims of attacks. Measures to ensure their security, Vladikavkaz officials believe, can be taken only in cooperation with the Russian Army and the Provisional Administration. This is a fairly large territory, they said; moreover, there are only few places where it overlaps with the boundaries of those areas where the presidential edict of 27 March is to take effect.

The edict did not evoke enthusiasm in Nazran, either. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA learned that the four-hour conversation between President Aushev and General Dudayev focused on matters related to the creation of a unified Vaynakh confederation, which Ingushetia is to join. Aushev cannot imagine how his republic can exist, however, unless the question of returning some part of Prigorodnyy Rayon to Ingushetia is resolved. The Ingush president emphasized, however, that any military solution to the problem was ruled out. Nonetheless, the would-be Vaynakh confederation, Aushev said, should have clearly defined boundaries, particularly with North Ossetia. Meanwhile, the renewal of the state of emergency in the region poses additional difficulties and does not bring the Ingush any closer to concrete results.

Yeltsin Edict on Cossacks Revives 'Historical Tradition'

MK3003131293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Liana Minasyan report under the rubric "Cossacks": "The Cossacks Want To Be Under State Tutelage. President's Edict Only Restores Historical Tradition"]

[Text] President Yeltsin's edict on state support for the Cossacks that drew protest at the current Congress from Ramazan Abdulatipov, "head of Russia's nationalities," and was included by the deputies in the list of acts subject to repeal, would hardly have attracted such close attention had it not coincided with a recurrence of the constitutional crisis. By that time, the president and the deputies were counting their supporters and opponents, and the reaction to the edict was provoked by the timing and the place of its coming into being rather than by fear of Cossack defiance (who knows, had the Supreme Soviet been faster on the draw and passed a legislative act in support of the Cossacks, a section of their atamans, especially that section that looks to the supreme legislature in their activities, would have supported it).

The fact is that a draft of the president's edict was ready as early as last fall, and had been endorsed by Skokov and Shakhray but remained unsigned for a long time. There was a previous agreement for a meeting between atamans of the Union of Cossack Troops of Russia and the president to take place on 12 March, but 10 March was slated for the previous Congress, and the meeting was cut short. Still, more than 20 atamans, including Kaledin of the Don Army, Nogay of the Kuban Army, Titov of the Orenburg Army, Vetrov of the Yeniseysk Army, spent half a day in the Kremlin, and passed on to the president's apparatus documents attesting to support of Yeltsin. They also stated that, in their turn, they expected that the status of the Cossacks and their support by the state be confirmed. The edict was signed on 15 March, and the Council of Atamans is to convene on 11 April to discuss it (on the Don, a grand assembly has already been held to approve the edict, and likewise as on the Terek and in the Kuban.)

Representatives of the Union of Cossack armies think that the president's edict prescribing the formation of Cossack units in the Russian Army only revives the historical tradition whereby Cossack oblasts were obliged to provide, for active service, regiments consisting entirely of Cossacks and taking orders from the Defense Ministry.

They attribute the reform—envisioned by the edict—of the military organizations, the border and internal troops on the territory of the North Caucasus, to the necessity to bring them into line with reality—the Transcaucasus Military Okrug located on the territory of foreign states virtually does not exist, and it should be reformed into a North Caucasus Okrug. Representatives of the Union allay fears about the formation of the Cossack units being based on ethnic grounds by saying that the Cossacks themselves are a unique feature peculiar to Russia. It is hard to ignore the fact because hundreds of thousands of people are now involved in the Cossack movement. At any rate, they think, it would be simpler to avoid excesses and clashes between the Cossacks and nationalist movements in the Caucasus if Cossack organizations are placed under state tutelage. The fact that they are in the service of the state rather than acting at the discretion of atamans can prove a restraining factor. The edict at least envisions the liability of atamans and members of Cossack societies for failure to fulfill commitments to the state, because serving the state implies control and responsibility.

Future of Chechenya, Relations Discussed

PM3003160393 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No. 12, Mar 93 (Signed to Press 16 Mar) pp 12-13

[Article by Vladimir Kolosov and Rostislav Turovskiy under the "Chechnya" rubric: "Is Groznyy That Much of a Threat? It Is in Russia's Interests To Grant Chechnya Special Status"]

[Text] For 18 months relations between Russia and Chechnya have been unclear. Politically, the republic seems to be existing completely independently, although people in Chechnya are still talking about the "imperial machinations" which they readily see as the cause of the disorder at home.

Chechens are convinced they are being "blockaded," that Russia "is not giving them any money" out of a desire to bring a freedom-loving people to its knees. In Russia, however, people are unhappy that Yeltsin's administration is continuing to behave toward Chechnya as if that country was still part of the Federation: It is not switching to world prices, it is giving out subsidies and grants.

Oil Rubles

Is the Chechen Republic viable? Chechnya has its own oil, but the narrow specialization of the Chechen economy (oil extraction, oil refining, petrochemicals, and oil equipment production) is insufficient for autonomous existence.

Fully developed oilfields have been functioning here since the start of the century. Extraction is steadily declining. In 1992 extraction was about 87 percent of the 1991 level, which in turn was 79.5 percent of the 1985 level. But these figures represent the total for Checheno-Ingushetia, and approximately half of the oil located here belongs to Ingushetia.

In other words, Chechnya can supply itself with energy.

But the amount of oil extracted here is clearly insufficient for the capacity of the oil refining industry—the linchpin and basis of the Chechen economy. Oil has to be imported, and oil products are exported. Imported from where? From Azerbaijan? Iran? But then it would be necessary to lay oil pipelines through Dagestan, which (at least for the time being) is part of the Russian Federation. Moreover, Azerbaijan is incapable of supplying a sufficient quantity of oil, and if Iran starts selling oil to Chechnya it will be for purely political reasons. Therefore the main supplier for a long time to come will still be Russia.

There are no hydroelectric power stations in the republic. There is one thermal electric power station. Overall electricity production per head of population is three and a half times lower than the average figure for Russia. For all social parameters, Chechnya stubbornly holds on to bottom place in the Russian Federation. All production is geared to Russian sales markets.

Nor is Chechnya in any state to feed itself. The configuration of its irrigation systems again makes it dependent on Russia: One of the canals, the Alkhanchurtskiy, begins in North Ossetia, and the other, named for Lenin, starts in Stavropol Kray. The output of its canneries can also only find a market in Russia.

In other words, a complete rupture between Chechnya and Russia presupposes not even a radical restructuring of the entire Chechen economy but the demolition of this economy and the construction of a new and fundamentally different one for which neither the resources nor the bases currently exist.

Barrier on the Road to the Transcaucasus

The railroads, highways, and pipelines that link Russia with the Transcaucasus pass through Chechnya. The main railroad from Rostov to Baku runs along the left bank of the Terek through Cossack settlements, and then through purely Chechen territory, where the junction of Gudermes is located. Here the main line joins up with a parallel line running through Groznyy. Even the branch line from Astrakhan does not avoid Chechen territory.

Traveling from Russia to Makhachkala by car, it is only possible to avoid Chechen territory by using local roads in the area of the Terek delta south of Kizlyar. All central road routes cut through Chechen lands.

Therefore, in the event of relations being severed, Chechnya in fact has the potential to drop a "barrier," cutting Dagestan off from Russia and complicating links with the Transcaucasus. However, a link is possible via the Caspian Sea and the ports of Astrakhan, Makhachkala, and Derbent.

Theoretically Russia has a way of ridding itself of this danger. In order to do this, it would be necessary to control Gudermes and the left bank of the Terek, thereby "cutting off" the corner formed by the rail and road routes entering Chechnya. But building new routes there would be very difficult... And what about bypassing Chechnya? That would cost billions of rubles and take at least three years.

Russian Chechens and Chechen Russians

Even after their return from exile, the Chechens were "driven out" of the republic by hidden unemployment and the low standard of living and quality of life.

After 1957 depopulation became firmly established—people left to earn money as "casual" laborers in Siberia or the Far North. Consequently a substantial increase in the Chechen diaspora in Russia occurred in the 1980's. In 1979 the number of Chechens living in Checheno-Ingushetia was 80.9 percent of the total number of Chechens on USSR territory, whereas in 1989 this proportion had fallen to 76.6 percent.

Large Chechen communities numbering several hundred or thousand people form a kind of "Chechen network" covering most of Russia. The largest Chechen communities are to be found in Volgograd and Astrakhan Oblasts and Kalmykia, where Chechens are often hired as shepherds.

Does this mean that Dudayev's threat to transfer hostilities to Russia if necessary is not just empty words?

On the one hand, the majority of Chechens in Russia are completely integrated into local life and all the indications are that they do not consider themselves bound to respond to appeals made by a faraway leader [vozhd] in Groznyy. On the other hand, it only takes a few well-organized marginals who want to "have it out" with local authorities or inhabitants for one reason or another.

It is unlikely that Chechens will undertake any significant action in response to the demand "to turn Moscow into a zone of misfortune." Internal discipline in Chechen communities and the lack of any desire to change their place of residence, thus placing themselves in opposition to Russians, should act as a reliable brake. However, individual terrorist acts cannot be excluded, and their provocative role is enormous. So it would not be sensible to ignore Dudayev's threats altogether.

Divide and Rule?

Russia too, however, has the chance to exert similar pressure. There are a number of Cossack settlements in the republic, particularly on the left bank of the Terek, and the Cossacks are entirely capable of becoming a Russian "party of influence" in Chechnya.

The "Nogai factor" presents a danger for Chechnya. In Chechnya itself there are not very many Nogai, about 7,000. But the Nogai national movement is demanding the reunification of the people within the borders of Dagestan or Stavropol Kray and is laying claim to the Chechen part of the Nogai steppe.

Let us add to this the fact that the borders of the present Chechen Republic have never been juridically approved by anybody. During the Soviet era they were revised on numerous occasions, particularly after the deportation of the Chechens and the Ingush in 1944 and their return. Some of the borders run through areas where people akin to the Chechens—the Ingush and the Avars—are settled. Some of the borders are shared with peoples from different language groups and traditions—Georgians, Russians, Ossetians, and Nogai.

Practically any section of the border could become "contentious" at any moment. At the same time the region's population is heterogeneous while also interlinked, so it would be dangerous and well nigh impossible for an arbiter to take sides in any conflict that might arise here. A "divide and rule" policy in the North Caucasus could backfire on Russia with consequences that are hard to predict: The opportunities for exerting pressure on the situation in Chechnya are too risky.

Neither War nor Peace

Nobody is likely to doubt that political stability remains the most important consideration for Russia. At the same time it is clear that stability in the North Caucasus is inconceivable without a stable Chechnya.

The 18-month existence of the Dudayev regime has brought the republic to the brink of a civil conflict which is ready to explode at any time. The peaceful retirement of the present Chechen president and his replacement not with a new Bonapartist regime but a stable rule-of-law structure would be in Russia's interests. In this respect Russia's positions are close to those of the "Daymokkh" movement, which has rallied together the opposition forces.

So what can be done? It is quite clear that an armed method of resolving Russian-Chechen contradictions is impossible: It would have a destructive effect on the entire Russian Federation, uniting not just Chechens but also other peoples against imperialist Russia and engendering anti-Russian feelings and a wave of refugees all over the North Caucasus.

How much effect do economic methods of pressure have? A switch to world prices would mean indirectly recognizing Chechnya. Introducing effective border controls is unlikely to succeed, and in any case this would require considerable outlay. As far as an economic blockade is concerned, this would hit Russia's urban population first and foremost, and moreover links between the center of Russia and Dagestan would be complicated to the maximum degree.

To Recognize or Not To Recognize?

At the same time full recognition of Chechnya is also undesirable: First, it would be a severe blow to the authority of the present Russian leadership; second, it would do wonders for Dudayev's falling popularity; third, a domino effect is possible: Other republics would also start to break away from Russia.

In the current situation, when it is extremely doubtful whether Dudayev's government will survive, the best tactic is to sit it out and drag out the talks.

It would be desirable to enlist the opposition and national minorities, including the Russians, the Armenians, and the Nogai to take part in the talks.

A major argument in Russia's favor at the talks is the economic state of the republic. Guarantees need to be given to Chechnya that the preservation of the single economic area means winning the right to receive preferential loans, investments, and subsidies which will help to "rescue" the neglected social sphere.

But we must be prepared for a situation in which the Chechen leaders, in order to "save face," will demand special status for Chechnya within the framework of the federation—for example the status of an associated state (the model for relations between Puerto Rico and the United States).

If Russia were to agree to this option, this would provide the opportunity to keep the single economic area and a single currency while reserving the functions of defense and foreign policy representation for the central power.

However, there is an inherent danger in this turn of events: The legal concepts espoused by the present Chechen political elite differ enormously from those espoused by the Russians. We cannot rule out a situation in which fundamentally different legal norms and arrangements are preserved within the framework of a formally unified state, something like a "vassal state within a state."

Articles Examine Growing Regional Strength

Deputies' Assessment

MK3003143693 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 35(91), 30 Mar 93 p 2

[Article by Oleg Rumyantsev, Russian Federation people's deputy; Yevgeniy Danilov, chief of Constitutional Commission expert group; and Vladimir Lafitskiy, Constitutional Commission expert: "Federation Basis: Constitution, Treaty, or Council?"]

[Text] In the approach to and during the Eighth and Ninth Congresses of Russian Federation People's Deputies references were repeatedly made to the Federation Treaty, the anniversary of whose signing will occur 31 March. In this context, however, people frequently ignore the Russian Federation Constitution and the real correlation between the Constitution and the Federation Treaty, and in particular the dangerous course pursued by the advocates of the sovereignization of Russia's republics and regions.

In any federative state the foundations of state power are determined by a federal constitution, not by a treaty. The latter is characteristic of confederations and other forms of international legal associations. According to the form of its constitutional structure, the Russian Federation has been and will remain a federation, and the Federation Treaty has not altered this aspect of its quality.

The 10 April 1992 decree of the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies "On the Federation Treaty" notes that the Constitution of the Russian Federation incorporates the content of the Federation Treaty (Article 2). Thereby the Congress clearly stated its position not to regard the Federation Treaty as an act replacing the Constitution.

In the opinion of representatives of a number of republics, however, the Federation Treaty should be accorded a totally different role—that of a document equal in its legal force to the Constitution. This contradicts not only the Russian Federation Constitution, but the Federation

Treaty itself, whose text stresses that it will become a component part of the Constitution (Article VIII).

The sequence of actions by the advocates of Russia's treaty-based confederative structure can be represented as follows.

First: To ensure, in violation of the Congress' will, the inclusion of the Federation Treaty into the text of the Constitution as a separate section, equal in force to the entire remaining part of the Constitution.

Second: To seek to apply the Federation Treaty in isolation from the Constitution, insisting, as far as possible, on the priority of all provisions of the Federation Treaty over the Constitution.

Third: To ensure the passage of a Russian Federation law "On Principles and Mechanisms of Implementing the Federation Treaty" that will complete what is essentially a replacement by the Federation Treaty of the Russian Federation Constitution as a whole.

That this threat exists in reality is evident from the republics' proposals concerning the content of the draft law "On Principles and Mechanisms of Implementing the Federation Treaty." This law, according to the heads of Russia's republics, should incorporate many questions that should be regulated by the Constitution itself. These include the powers of the legislative, executive, and judicial bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the Federation components; adjustment of the laws of the federal structures and local power bodies to the Federation Treaty in spheres of their joint jurisdiction; a mechanism to ensure participation by the Federation's components in the legislative process of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet; the possibility for Federation components to engage in lawmaking activity prior to the adoption by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet of fundamental legislation on matters of joint jurisdiction....

With this interpretation, there is no place for the Constitution of the Russian Federation—it will become a second-rate and unnecessary document. This can directly lead to a constitutional coup, abolishing the Russian Federation as a state.

At the Ninth (Extraordinary) Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies a draft Agreement on the Council of the Federation was circulated with supplementary materials.

It is absolutely wrong, however, to put the Federation Treaty before the Constitution, as is done in the preamble to the draft Agreement on the Council of the Federation.

A memorandum to the draft actually states that there is no mechanism to enforce the Federation Treaty. This is not so: The general instruments for the application of the Federation Treaty are provided for in the Russian Constitution. These are:

—identification of the spheres (terms of reference and powers) within the framework of which the Federation can operate, and also the spheres of joint activity of the Federation and its components;

—provision for the power bodies of the Russian Federation's components of the right to participate in exercising federal powers within the scope and in forms as established the Russian Federation Constitution and federal laws;

—guaranteed representation for the Russian Federation's components in the federal bodies of Russian Federation state authority;

—issuance by the Federation of basic legislation on matters of joint jurisdiction, which should be counterbalanced with the exercise by Federation components of their own legal regulation on these matters;

—submission to the Russian Federation's components of federal draft laws on subjects of joint jurisdiction with the view to considering their relevant proposals in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet;

—a special procedure for imposing a state of emergency on the territories of the Russian Federation's components;

—provision stipulating mandatory application of conciliation procedures to settle disputes should they arise;

—the right of the Federation and its components to refer many categories of disputes arising between them to the Russian Federation Constitutional Court, and so forth.

The assertion in the memorandum that the Council of the Federation acts as a purely conciliatory body does not accord with the content of the draft Agreement on the Soviet of the Federation. This assertion is refuted by Articles 4 and 5 of this draft that define questions subject to mandatory coordination with the Council of the Federation and also procedures for this coordination. The Council of the Federation will essentially become a body of state power of the Russian Federation.

The Council of the Federation, insofar as its aims, tasks, and powers are formulated in this draft, is laying claim to the role of a special body, at the very least equivalent to the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet with respect to matters specified in Article 4 of this draft.

The incorporation into the existing Constitution of the Russian Federation of radical changes that could follow the formation of the Council of the Federation also appears to be infeasible. This restructuring will lead not to stabilization but to the most serious disruption of the constitutional system in the Russian Federation, the undermining of the legitimacy of federal authority as such, and—in practical terms—will signify a step toward a treaty-based confederation to suit the interests of local elites, but with irreparable damage to Russia-wide interests.

Regions Becoming 'Fourth Force'

MK3003131893 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by Vladislav Borodulin and Viktor Serov: "Triple Power"]

[Text] The decisions adopted in the past three days by the congress, president, and government testify to the formation not so much of dual power as triple power in the field of economic management of the country. Along with the deputies and the government, the president is also claiming his powers. A series of already signed and pending edicts, as promptly announced by the presidential press service, shows that Boris Yeltsin has in fact recovered the status he had following the Fifth Congress.

Boris Yeltsin's intrusion into the area of economic lawmaking, which in the past was primarily the prerogative of the Supreme Soviet and the government, can apparently be attributed to the intention to make positive political capital in the approach to the all-Russia referendum set for 25 April. In this case, however, legislative acts passed by the head of state can duplicate analogous decrees by the parliament, which, by extending social concessions to the population, will seek to win the electorate over to its side. Duplication has actually begun—evidence of this is the virtually simultaneous appearance of a presidential edict on savings protection and a decree by the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies on compensation for the populace's deposits. In this situation the head of state and parliament, while advocating opposing political positions, are in fact acting on a common front against the government, one of whose main economic strategic principles is the reduction of the federal budget deficit by any methods.

Analysis of the government's activity in these circumstances, however, points to the conclusion that the Chernomyrdin cabinet has also gained on a number of counts. First of all, the government's terms of reference have been extended. Signs coming in over the three weeks leading up to the congress suggest that the cabinet's almost unqualified support for the president is probably the result of agreement between the head of state and the premier whereby the government, having promised the president its support, received in exchange greater leeway in deciding on economic policy matters.

Furthermore, Viktor Chernomyrdin's room for maneuver has also expanded owing to a belief common among the deputies that the government can and must be the sole institution of executive power. Therefore the Council of Ministers will be able to pursue its own economic policy, playing on contractions between the president and parliament. Despite the prime minister's proven capability for this sort of maneuver, however, the cabinet's aspiration for independence could be substantially limited owing to the economic claims by the Federation's components.

The triangle of powers that has emerged cannot essentially be effective in making long-term economic decisions. In this connection, the resultant power vacuum is likely to be filled by a fourth force. There is only one real contender for this role—the regions. Very indicative in this situation is the fact that at the latest congress session representatives of the regions acted not separately, like before, but in coordination, through the Council of the Federation. Obviously, from now on this practice will occupy a significant place among the set of means to pressure the center. The main vector of the regions' claims will be directed, as before, at obtaining various economic concessions. It will now be the government, however, that will find itself on the defensive since its intention to pursue its own economic course will be coming under coordinated pressure from the regions.

Council of Federation's Role Examined

MK3003103893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 1

[Vitaliy Portnikov article: "Council of Federation. A Sign of Disintegration or a Path to Accord?"]

[Text] The dramatic turns of the Ninth Congress of Russian People's Deputies, the abortive attempt to oust Boris Yeltsin from power and kick out Khasbulatov, and the leaders' all-night vigils and morning hysteria at the rostrum of the Grand Kremlin Palace are likely to prevent deputies and observers from seeing the main trend in the visibly changing political map of the Federation: The regions, which had consolidated their positions so strongly at the previous congress, at this latest one attempted to play not just an intermediary but a leading role, seeking to reach accord among themselves and overcome the natural contradictions between the interests of ethnic-state and administrative-territorial formations. The gist of their attempts and claims can be summed up in two words: Council of the Federation. The initiative to form this collegiate body has come primarily from Nizhniy Novgorod, headed by the young, photogenic governor, Boris Nemtsov, and the chairman of the oblast soviet, Yevgeniy Krestyaninov. Also, proposals to create the Council of the Federation in some form or other were articulated in speeches at the congress by Aleksandr Rutskoy, Yuriy Skokov, and Viktor Chernomyrdin. Similar proposals were also contained in a draft resolution proposed as a result of compromise between the power structures and rejected by the congress, and also in a draft submitted by the drafting commission (although they too were not passed). Even if the Council of the Federation is not created by the deputies, it will inevitably appear—although, of course, problems will immediately arise here over its interaction with Council of Heads of Republics, the Council of Heads of Administrations, and the Russian Security Council, which is structurally connected with these bodies. The Nizhniy Novgorod formula, hardly shared by the federal leaders, could turn the Council of the

Federation into something along the lines of the initiative—which produced much noise but never materialized—by Nursultan Nazarbayev, who believed that the republics' leaders can well communicate among themselves without the chairmanship of the center, and what is more, not to the detriment but actually for the preservation of an integrated statehood area.

To be sure, there are still not a few obstacles in the way of actually implementing the Council of the Federation idea. Thus far the draft agreement has not been signed by such influential republican leaders as President Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet Chairman Murtaza Rakhimov, and Karelian Supreme Soviet Speaker Viktor Stepanov. Nonetheless, it may well be that the major Russian republics will altogether build their relations with the center their own way, without participating in the collegiate bodies of regional interaction, and in this respect the example of Tatarstan is indicative. This, however, does not exclude a unity of interests of those regions that would like to assert jointly their special role in relations with the center.

The signs of agony among the deputy corps, incidentally, come through not in confrontation with the president but in a demonstrative disregard of regional leaders. People who have only a semblance of powers are seriously vying for power with people who have real levers and who are not inclined to share them, it seems, even with the president or premier, let alone the faceless deputy corps. The deputies willingly gave the floor to political activists of moribund deputy factions, who have no influence in any sphere whatsoever, but on the other hand they did not give the rostrum to the chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet (incidentally, with a territory four times as large as France) or to the chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet, who in the past, when he was "merely" leader of the Communists of Russia faction, they would not have dared refuse. Why this disrespect for reality? Can it be really said that these people have come from the "localities" and know the local mood when they are not thinking even about what they will be doing after their mandates have expired, about whose offices they will have to go to, and about whom they will be working with....

Leaders of the Russian Supreme Soviet, although they are trying to collaborate with regional leaders, treat their initiatives with even greater coolness than those by representatives of the executive branch. Nizhniy Novgorod Governor Boris Nemtsov believes that Ruslan Khasbulatov views the Council of the Federation idea as an obstacle to his own power, but of course, this is not the only reason. The appearance of the Council can substantially change the future structure of a new parliament, resulting in the creation of a counterpart of the German Bundesrat—a chamber of the laender. It is not accidental that many observers read precisely this analogy into the Nizhniy Novgorod initiative, although the latter ostensibly stresses the consultative nature of the new body. If a chamber of regions comprising independent leaders does emerge, however, the parliament head's possibilities will be effectively reduced to the logical functions of chairman, not involving power ambitions and TV commentaries on the political situation in the country and in the world.

Fear of the Council of the Federation is also linked with the memory of the short-lived Union body of the same name, and then came Novo-Ogarevo, the putsch, and the Belovezhskaya Forest agreements. But is it reasonable to draw direct parallels between the Union and Russia, especially given that the members of the former, the Union Council, were not so much engaged in destroying the Union as attempting to bring the center and Mikhail Gorbachev in person back to reality, restraining them from suicidal moves, such as the putsch rehearsal in Vilnius? The response to the republican leaders was further insane moves from the center, reminiscent not of a sensible policy, but rather of Brownian movement. This movement is also being felt in the deputies' stubborn refusal to see that Russia does not consist only of the Hall of Mirrors, the Kremlin buffet, and St. George's Hall, but also includes the lands of Vladimir, Novgorod, Siberia, the Urals, the Volga area....

International Affairs

Kravchuk Stresses Preventing Congress-Style 'Confrontation'

LD3003172493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] We must do everything to prevent the sort of confrontation witnessed by the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of Russia from happening in Ukraine, President Leonid Kravchuk said at a meeting with journalists. He noted that confrontation between the executive and legislative structures of power does not exist in Ukraine at the moment, although problems exist in relations between them in the localities.

Leonid Kravchuk stressed that the most important thing for Ukraine is the adoption of a new constitution. It is also important not to permit confrontation and to unite the efforts of parties and movements, the deputies' corps, and presidential structures in order to emerge from the economic crisis. Leonid Kravchuk also stressed that the economic situation in Ukraine could objectively be complicated by those processes that are occurring in Russia.

More Comment on Russian Congress

OW3003194993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1856 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday [30 March] at a press conference in Kiev the Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk declared that it is Russia's business to assess the results of the Congress of the Russian People's Deputies. Nevertheless, he pointed out that the process going on in Russia can influence the economic situation in Ukraine.

"I cannot say that Russia is exerting open pressure on Ukraine," said Kravchuk "But there is a connection between economic relations between our countries and the problems of strategic nuclear weapons and Black Sea Fleet." "I do not want to make a conclusion that Russia is exerting direct economic pressure on Ukraine though there are several signs testifying to this," the President noted.

Kravchuk said that over 11 Mn [million] Russians are living in Ukraine and Russia, he stressed, should think about its compatriots when it creates problems with oil and gas for Ukraine. At the same time, he said, Ukraine's long-term orientation on Russian fuel and energy does not correspond to the interests of Russia and Ukraine because the true abilities of the Russian Federation do not allow it to maintain oil and gas extraction at the previous level.

The President rejected the supposition that events going on in Russia can influence Ukraine's attitude towards the START-1 Treaty. Kravchuk said that nuclear weapons are not the only means of ensuring Ukraine's security. "There are other possibilities," Kravchuk emphasized.

Delivery of Russian Oil Resumes After Pipeline Accident

LD3003195793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Mar 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today it was announced that the Ukraine has started receiving oil from Russia after an accident on the Michurinsk-Kremenchug oil pipeline. The more than 700,000 tonnes of oil that failed to be received in the course of the two days will now be received.

Military Official Responds to Claims by Russian Counterpart

AU3103081493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 27 Mar 93 p 2

[Statement by the Press Service of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense: "What Else Would They Take Away From Us, or Do Not Covet Thy Neighbor's Goods"]

[Text] On 24 March 1993, the Russian newspaper IZVESTIYA published an interview given by Colonel General Petr Deynekin, commander in chief of the Russian Air Force, to the newspaper's correspondent. The interview was entitled "The Russian Air Force Will Have Only the Most Up-To-Date Aircraft."

However, the interview does not exactly deal with Russian aviation. At the very beginning, the high-ranking military official of the neighboring country says this: "Unless Ukraine transfers the 'heavy bombers' to the Russian Air Force" in the next few months, these superaircraft will become inoperable and will only be good for scrap metal." It gets even more interesting as he goes on to say that Ukraine "privatized" the aircraft in question, refuses to transfer them to the Russian side, violates the agreement on guaranteeing collective security, and undermines the defense capability of Russia and of the CIS. In general, this technology is practically not being used, the scheduled work on it is not being performed, and the pilots are losing their professional skills.

Well, the accusations are serious enough. They do not contribute to the prestige of Ukraine or of its Armed Forces. They would have been even more serious had they reflected, 100 percent, the true state of affairs. Here is what was stated on this matter by Major General Borys Tymoshenko, chief of the Administration of Ukraine's Armed Forces and Air Defense at the headquarters of Ukraine's Armed Forces to the Press Service of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense.

First, in accordance with the agreements reached on 30 December 1991 in Minsk in the course of the meeting of the CIS heads of state, all the military technology, including aviation, that had been located at that time on the territory of former USSR republics became the full property of these republics. There are, consequently, no grounds for asserting that Ukraine has "privatized" the heavy bombers.

Another aspect: During negotiations with representatives of the Russian Federation, even during the recent ones that were held at the beginning of March in Moscow, the Ukrainian side repeatedly proposed that the Russian Defense Ministry give in exchange for this technology, which is expensive and strategically important for Russia, as pointed out by General Deynekin in that same interview, planes of a different type and spare parts and aggregates for them. However, these proposals were left unheeded. The Russians insisted: They are ours and that is it! Are they really theirs?

There is yet another significant addition to Mr. Deynekin's words. The strategic combat jets that are located in Ukraine, despite the general's wishful thinking, are in working condition and are completely combat ready. The pilots fly them and are not losing their skills. Besides, the High Command cannot fail to know that the guaranteed terms of exploitation of these aircraft are still far from being exceeded, and, therefore, for the next 10 years or even longer, their comparison with scrap metal will only make specialists laugh.

Finally. It is a matter for a sovereign state to decide how, when, and what it will do with its property. Nobody, even the high-ranking official at the Ministry of Defense of a neighboring state, has the right to interfere into these affairs. Sorry, Mr. Deyneka, the times of the "big and little brother" relations have passed; let us resolve all matters in a civilized manner.

New Course Charted for Foreign Trade

OW2903223593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1757 GMT 29 Mar 93

[From the "INTERFAX Business Report"—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine, which traditionally looked toward central and East European nations for foreign trade partners, has actively begun developing ties with the United States and Southeast Asia, primarily China, Japan, and South Korea.

CHINA UKRAINE'S MAIN TRADE PARTNER. The Ministry for Statistics said Ukraine had a total foreign trade turnover in 1992 of $9.1 Bn [billion], with exports of $3 [illegible] Bn and imports of $5.5 Bn (data for 1991 when Ukraine was part of the USSR are not available).

China is the largest importer of Ukrainian goods, buying primarily mineral fertilizers (92%), metals (about 5%), and petrochemical products in exchange for consumer goods and construction materials.

Ukrainian exports to the United States, though still rather insignificant, also increased over the year by an estimated 2.8 times. The Ukrintex concern sold $3.4 Mn [million] in chemicals to the U.S. to become the largest supplier of Ukrainian products to the American market. American imports to Ukraine were dominated by agricultural products, chemical threads, and knit fabrics.

Nearly 50% of Ukraine's exports to Japan was made up of product from the Nikopol ferroalloy plant, which sent Japan $46.1 Mn in products. The Donetskugol manufacturing association exported $22.9 Mn in anthracite.

The Sector machine-building plant was the largest importer of Korean products, buying close to $180 Mn in electric machines and equipment. Donetskugol imported over $10 Mn in audio-visual equipment from Japan.

Ukraine's Main Trade Partners in 1992 (Mn dollars)

	Export	Import	Turnover
China	679.7	64.5	744.2
Czechoslovakia	421.3	198.1	619.4
Italy	282.3	217.9	500.2
Latvia	379.8	105.8	485.6
Germany	136.8	246.6	383.4
Turkey	323.1	25.0	348.1
Bulgaria	250.4	87.7	338.1
Lithuania	170.1	131.8	301.9
Poland	123.8	151.6	275.4
Hungary	188.9	98.2	287.1
.... [as received]			
South Korea	6.5	194.8	201.3
USA	18.5	162.9	181.4
Japan	90.4	39.5	129.9
Singapore	4.1	8.2	12.3
Thailand	6.5	0.3	6.8
Taiwan	2.2	0.3	2.5

UKRAINE TO SIGN TRADE PACTS WITH JAPAN AND KOREA. Ukraine's trade and economic relations with Southeast Asia, unlike relations with traditional partners, are not backed by government agreements. However, nations in this region have begun actively penetrating the Ukrainian market.

Ukraine and South Korea are expected to sign an agreement on trade and economic cooperation.

Economic relations with Japan are moving to center stage as the Ukrainian Parliament said last year that Japan is the republic's number one choice among trade partners in Asia.

A visit to Kiev in early March by a delegation from the Japanese Ministry for International Trade and Industry produced an agreement to draw up the draft of the first Ukraine-Japanese trade and economic agreement.

Thailand is also interested in trade with Ukraine, and is ready to begin trading with Kiev on a clearing or barter basis, and develop relations in other areas.

Trade relations between Ukraine and Taiwan are complicated by the latter's relations with China.

Ukraine had earlier refused to recognize Taiwan as an independent nation, thus relations will not develop along the lines of the foreign ministries of the two nations, but through the RUKh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] movement, one of Ukraine's political unions, and the Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce.

KIEV TO INCREASE EXPORTS BY 1/3. The program for the economic development of Ukraine to be discussed at a regular session of Parliament, states that Ukraine will increase exports in 1993 to $5.1 Bn (from $3.6 Bn in 1992).

The greatest increase will come from the products of the forestry and wood pulp industry (to $78.9 Mn from $42 Mn in 1992). The export of machine-building product will be increased from last year's $320 Mn to $570 Mn in 1993, metal products from $1.64 Bn to $2.5 Bn, and coal and coke from $140 Mn to $200 Mn.

The export of agricultural product will be increased by 220% to $273.5 Mn, as opposed to $84.4 Mn in 1992.

Mn tons	1992	1993 (forecast)	1993 as % 1992
Iron ore	16.7	22.5	135.3
Pig iron	1.5	3.0	195.5
Rolled stock of ferrous metals	2.3	5.1	220
Steel pipes, thous [thousand] tons	12.6	709.5	5630
Carbamide	2.0	2.0	100
Ammonia	1.1	1.4	125
Methanol	0.15	0.2	131.6
Ethyl alcohol, Mn deciliters	5.0	5.8	116

The only drop in exports will be seen in the chemical and petrochemical industry (89.4% of 1992 levels), which has a shortage of raw materials, and the medical and microbiology industry (down 22.1%).

National Affairs

'Excerpts' of Interviews With President Kravchuk

LD3003225293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1423 GMT 30 Mar 93

["Excerpts" of two interviews with President Leonid Kravchuk with announcer Kira Vladina in Kiev; first interview recorded 12 December 1992; date of second interview not given; from the "Ostankino Interstate TV Channel Presents" program]

[Excerpts] [Video shows Kravchuk in office with Vladina] [Kravchuk] Democracy and reforms in Russia are very important to us, because everything we have today, our links and relations are mutually dependent, and those processes which are under way in Russia have an effect on the situation in Ukraine. [Video cuts to different interview; caption says recorded 12 December 1992]

[Vladina] Everybody knows that the Emperor Monomakh's crown is heavy [quote from Pushkin's play "Boris Godunov"] and the president's burden is equally heavy. Why are people afraid of losing it so much?

[Kravchuk] Well, you know I do not think that people are afraid.

[Vladina] But everything everywhere starts with this.

[Kravchuk] What, that the president is afraid of losing his power?

[Vladina] Of course.

[Kravchuk] No, this is not quite so. It is not power that matters. You know, people are looking at the president, but each sees him through their own eyes.

[Vladina] But there is a struggle for power under way. Look at Georgia, look at all our terrible hot spots. Gamsakhurdia was afraid of losing it and he has lost it. Why?

[Kravchuk] Because this was done unconstitutionally.

[Vladina] So that is the point.

[Kravchuk] Yes. If, say, it was announced in Ukraine today that signatures would be collected... [pauses] There is the Constitution, there is the law on president. Signatures are collected, a vote is held, the people vote against, the president is removed and nobody would lift a finger in protest against this as long as everything is done in accordance with the Constitution and the law. But when force is used, force tramples upon the Constitution, not the president. Force tramples upon the law. If I see that today one force tramples upon the Constitution and the law, tomorrow there will be another force and this will lead to a free-for-all.

[Vladina] And yesterday or the day before Yeltsin was so worn out because he was losing his crown. It is natural, and I had the impression that although it is incredibly difficult for him and he has done a good deal for our state but...

[Kravchuk, interrupting] Well, Yeltsin was not losing his crown.

[Vladina] But he was on the verge of losing it.

[Kravchuk] No, no, what is happening can probably only affect Yeltsin as a result—if a law on the referendum had been adopted, and if the question had been submitted at the referendum, and if they had voted, only after this could the question have been posed: should Yeltsin be president or not, according to who people voted for. That's what it's about, there was no threat, the Congress cannot remove Yeltsin, he has no reason to fear it, just as the Supreme Soviet cannot remove me. Because a president is elected by all the people. Impeachment? Yes. But this did not happen. For an impeachment, you need certain conditions. Which? A violation of the Constitution and law by the president. If, say, the economic situation is bad, this does not warrant an impeachment, it does not bear any relation, but when a president himself violates, is a guarantor of the Constitution and violates it, or omits to notice a threat to territorial integrity, or to protect his people, or if he violates the Constitution, in a broader sense, that is. Because it is simply not just to accuse one president of creating the chaos we see today, everyone has played a part in it—deputies, the government, local bodies of power. But we have a tsarist mentality; here they think that one man can do everything. It's simply not realistic. If everything goes according to the Constitution and the law, then it is all right. And if people opt for machine guns? They ask: What? Should the president surrender? I am still only a human, aside from being a president, which means I am a coward.

[Video cuts back to undated interview in Kravchuk's office; Kravchuk shows Vladina and various telephones] [Kravchuk] This telephone is called metal, but you could call it the telephone I use to communicate directly with the presidents of nuclear republics—Yeltsin, Shushkevich, and Nazarbayev. Lift the receiver and you can connect and make a decision on this difficult question.

[Vladina] Do you have your own nuclear button?

[Kravchuk] No, I do not have my own nuclear button. This telephone enables me to block the launch of missiles stationed in Ukraine. The button is in Moscow.

I would never believe that anyone there would press the button, I do not believe this at all—but in politics one must foresee all eventualities say—if the button in Moscow were to be pushed, it is also linked to the missile complexes which are located on the territory of Ukraine. We have 176 of them. Then I would use these telephones to give the command to the commander of the 43d Missile Army and we would block these missiles. That is, they will not be launched from our territory. But I cannot launch them either.

[Vladina] [passage omitted] Leonid Makarovich, I can see how much you love children. That is sincere and direct. But it is strange that the most powerful opposition in the new state is the student opposition. Does your love not go as far as students? Why have you not found any points of contact with them?

[Kravchuk] You see, the present student opposition is not the same as it was in 1990. There are great political and economic problems in Ukraine. The students do not as a rule put forward economic demands, only political ones. For example, they have demanded early elections on a multiparty basis. That is, the processes under way throughout our society are laid bare and felt most acutely in the student environment. I do not see any emergency situation in this. It is natural.

[Vladina] In general this is the future of the state.

[Kravchuk] Naturally, and if today there was no opposition among the students or among some section of the intelligentsia, I would even wonder why not. For I myself, know that what is being done in Ukraine is far from the ideal of democracy and reforms and all the rest. But what if everyone keeps quiet and everyone fails to see that we do not have what we would like to have? Therefore, I consider that this is an absolutely normal process. [passage omitted]

[Vladina, interviewing Ukraine Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma] Can you predict what sort of relations you will have with the president in the future?

[Kuchma] I consider that in this situation it depends on two people. It depends primarily on the president.

[Vladina] What is it like working with him?

[Kuchma] I, for example, find it very pleasant and normal to work with him. So far we have not had any contradictions between us. There have been contradictions with some members of the presidential team, and this is perhaps quite natural. Therefore, I also feel that the prevailing feeling should be that we are working on the same task and we have absolutely nothing to have a showdown about.

Leonid Makarovich is very well aware of this, and when attempts are now made to divide us, that is to say the government and the president, it is categorically absurd, because all current plans, beginning with government politicians addressing the Supreme Soviet and what is currently being done, are agreed with the president; that is to say we are now in the same boat, as it were and we have no intention of jumping into another boat. As for those who would like to drive a wedge, there are always very many of those and I am very well aware of it, just as the president is also surely aware of it. And, well, we must rise above it, as it were. If something does emerge, it is better to look each other in the eyes, as we are doing and to say what the matter is. [passage omitted]

[Vladina, addressing Kravchuk in December interview] Is it not better for the president to select a team made up of his friends, proceeding from the fact that you know everyone professionally?

[Kravchuk] Well, when friends get together as friends to drink tea, when they debate some private questions of life, their own concerns, then such friendship has continuation. There are here no deep roots for in-depth differences to surface. However, when such friends enter political life, well, imagine, there is no such thing as political friendship, all these are illusions. That is because it is the people who are behind me, and when I make a decision I can see that to some extent it may even fail to correspond to the way I conceive of it; I see this person standing by my side, having differing views, proposing a more correct decision and I should agree with this, because people are politics.

[Vladina] Going for compromises?

[Kravchuk] Going for compromises—and here friendship stands in the way and has no right to interfere. When politicians embrace each other, it is artificial, believe me, it is the art of politics, political theatre. [passage omitted]

[Vladina] Where do you think your obvious strength lies?

[Kravchuk] Probably in my belief, my faith. I, as former secretary of the Central Committee and Politburo member, have taken up the position of the Ukrainian state, which is sometimes even called Ukrainian nationalism, but I do not agree with that. By nature I have never been a nationalist, and I will never become one, because, after seeing all these developments that have taken place in Ukraine—hunger in 1933, and repression, and the annihilation of millions of people, I understand one simple truth—that our people will never be happy without their own state. That is the main thing, that constitutes strength. [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk, during undated interview] I have always been and continue to be a supporter of good-neighborly, friendly relations with Russia, not because this is my conviction as a person, it is my conviction as a politician. We cannot live any other way, only in friendship, as two equal partners, as two peoples, two states. [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk, during December interview] We need a central core to hold the state together. I do not mean that the core is me, on my own—there is the Supreme Soviet, the government, the president. And when they act together, when they find a common language and solve today's issues, people understand. [passage omitted]

[Vladina] Which Ukrainian national hero do you prefer—Bogdan Khmelnitskiy or Mazepa?

[Kravchuk] These are two great people, two great Ukrainians, who, it cannot be argued, set themselves the noble aim of creating their own state. Mazepa had been more or less crushed by the Russian Czars; and the Cossacks and the Zaporozhskaya Sech had been annihilated, along with the settlements of runaway serfs, so that the state became a territory dependent on Russia, or to be more precise, became a colony. And that was it—the Ukrainian language was banned, along with Ukrainian culture, everything developed according to the usual pattern of relations between an empire and its colonies. Bogdan Khmelnitskiy wanted to solve the problem of relations with Russia. However, Shevchenko, who liked Bogdan Khmelnitskiy very much, reproached him once. He said in a poem: May you rest in peace, Bogdan. But something went wrong.

[Vladina] I would like to look at you through the eyes of your opponents, because it is not the first time that I meet you and, perhaps, I fell under the spell of your charm [words indistinct]. Therefore, I would like to ask you a question on behalf of your opponents. This has been mentioned quite often: How is it that Kravchuk did not know about the famine in Ukraine in the 30s?

[Kravchuk] Kira Vladislavovna, I would like to tell you—perhaps I am wrong—but I am almost certain that even Ukraine's top leadership did not know everything. I saw archive documents in 1988, all the documents, when a decision was taken to publish a book on the famine, a collection of documents. And when I saw those terrible photographs and the terrible decisions of the Moscow and Kiev leaders of the time, when I saw those terrifying letters written by children and women—save us, we are dying—it was not something simply mentioned somewhere, it was before my eyes and then I realized that it had been an artificially-created famine. I took several other steps. I asked the hydrometeorological center to find documents because it was said that there had been a drought at the time. I urged the hydrometeorological center for two months to find for me an old report on precipitation that year, and it showed that precipitation had been about average. Then I became unequivocally persuaded that the famine had been created deliberately to destroy the peasants, the very root of Ukraine. It is appalling to think that millions of people who produced wheat, grain, and meat were doomed to famine with just a stroke of the pen of the Moscow and Kiev leadership. [passage omitted: Vladina voice-over recalls Kravchuk's visit to a church in Lvov, in May 1992. When asked about his faith at a news conference afterward, Kravchuk said, according to Vladina, that the individual should embrace God away from the public eye, in solitude, after a lot of soul-searching. Video then cuts to the interview room]

[Vladina] Six months have elapsed since. Has your contact with God changed? What were your subsequent steps?

[Kravchuk] There are things that I regard as divine and sacred. These sacred things are the most important in my life. And if we approach from this end, from the point of view of sacred objects...

[Vladina, interrupting] For example?

[Kravchuk] My Ukraine, my land, the literature and art of my people are my sacred objects. And if we look at these sacred objects, they are separate from human flesh because those who created them have gone forever. There is something in this; it is difficult for the individual to comprehend what he lives by—this spirit and these ideas. They are here, hovering around us today. How can they be explained? It is a spiritual aura. [video cuts back to the undated interview]

[Vladina] Excuse me, Mr. President, what is your salary?

[Kravchuk] About 19,000 karbovantsy.

[Vladina] A week?

[Kravchuk] Why? A month.

[Vladina] But commercial structures make as much in a day.

[Kravchuk] Well, I understand all that, but first of all, commercial structures aside, what do our former state farmers get, what do many workers get? There are 12.5 million people in the countryside in Ukraine. Their limit is 2,300, while I have nearly 19,000. Therefore, I cannot afford to live in luxury today. [passage omitted]

Official Denies Report on Premier's Imminent Resignation

OW3103111593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1029 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vladlen Ilin, representative of the Ukrainian President in Odessa Region, denied in a Ukrainian TV interview with the "Kievsky vestnik" a report that Valentin Simonenko, chairman of the presidential socioeconomic council, had told top officials of Odessa Region on March 20 that the Kuchma government was about to resign.

Ilin said that nearly all the officials who had heard Simonenko had denied that report and described it as a provocation in a letter to President Leonid Kravchuk and Premier Leonid Kuchma.

President Calls For 'Radical Steps' in Economic Policy

OW3103112593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1029 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine called for "decisive and radical steps" in economic policy. Briefing journalists on the outcome of his meeting with representatives of the National Association of Entrepreneurs he told them that the state would continue its support of entrepreneurship and press on with privatization.

Kravchuk did not think that the restoration of state controls signified a return to the command system. He said that it would be unrealistic to give up government regulation of the economy in which 90 percent of businesses are state-owned.

The entrepreneurs had insisted that they needed equality, in legal terms, of the private and state sectors, especially as far as crediting is concerned, more than material support.

The meeting had decided to hold a "round table discussion" of all interested parties on entrepreneurship.

Crimean Parliament Speaker Supports Strong Presidency

MK3103091293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA reports" rubric: "Crimea"]

[Text] A session of the Crimean Supreme Soviet has adopted a decree "On memorable dates of the Republic of Crimea." According to the decree, 18 May—the day when Crimean Tatars were deported from Crimea—is declared the Day of Remembrance of the deportation victims in the Republic of Crimea. On that day state flags will be flown half-mast and any entertainment activities in the republic will be banned. From now on, 20 January—the day when the all- Crimean referendum on the reestablishment of Crimea's autonomy was held in 1991—will be celebrated as the Day of the Republic of Crimea, and 6 May—the day when the Constitution of the Republic of Crimea was adopted in 1922—as the Day of the Constitution of the Republic of Crimea.

As proposed by Nikolay Bagrov, chairman of the Crimean Supreme Soviet, it was decided to hold the next meeting of the 11th session of the Crimean Supreme Soviet on 15 April.

At a press conference on the results of the first stage of the Crimean parliament session, Nikolay Bagrov expressed his view regarding the presidency in the Republic of Crimea. He emphasized that "the Constitution has been adopted, it enshrines the institution of the presidency, and I, being chairman of the Supreme Soviet, must enforce what is laid down in the Constitution... While visiting Asian states I had a chance to see for myself what strong presidential authority looks like. We felt that authority in Kazakhstan, in Turkmenistan, and in Uzbekistan. No one there allows the president's name to be sullied, unlike what we have in Ukraine or in Russia."

Delegation Fails To Reach Compromise With Miners

OW3103115493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1029 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A conference of representatives of the Ukrainian Coal Miners' Independent Trade Union (UCMITU) opened in Donetsk this Wednesday [31 March] morning seeking to define its position with respect to the coal miners' strike, scheduled for April 2 and the ways to conduct it.

The UCMITU chairman, Aleksandr Mril, informed the conference that the Ukrainian government delegation headed by Yuliy Ioffe which had just completed its visit to Donbass had failed to achieve a compromise between the government and the miners' trade unions. In particular, the miners were especially critical of the wage-grade system proposed by the government.

In the opinion of the director of the mine "Vlikomostovskaya" of the "Zakarpatugol" Trans-Carpathian coal mining amalgamation, wage grade raises only to the miners who work under ground would ineluctably lead to a "dangerous stratification" in the miners' communities, which "would be likely to touch off a social explosion." Chairman of the trade unions committee of the "Shakhterskaya-Glubokaya" mine proposed to go on a indefinite strike with a political demand to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet to resign if the miners' economic demands were not fulfilled.

During his visit to Donbass, Ioffe informed trade unions of the government's proposal to augment the wage fund and double the underground miners' wage grades. In his words, the government finds it impossible to meet the miners' demands and give the mines complete economic independence under the current circumstances.

Decrees on Ways To Normalize Agro-Industrial Complex

AU3003150093 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 26 Mar 93 p 2

["Ukraine's Supreme Council Decree on the Government's Actions for Fulfilling Item 6 of Ukraine's Supreme Council Decree of 27 January 1993 'On the Socioeconomic Situation in Ukraine and Measures for its Stabilization, the Social Protection of the Population, and the Improvement of Ukraine's Supreme Council's Work Under the Conditions that Have Taken Shape;" issued in Kiev on 17 March]

[Text] Having considered and discussed the government's account of the course of fulfilling item 6 of Ukraine's Supreme Council Decree of 27 January 1993 "On the Socioeconomic Situation in Ukraine and Measures for its Stabilization, the Social Protection of the Population, and the Improvement of Ukraine's Supreme Council's Work Under the Conditions that Have Taken Shape" and that part of it which deals with providing agricultural producers with fuel and lubricants, the means for the protection of plants, and materials and technical resources to enable them to conduct spring field work, Ukraine's Supreme Council points out that Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers did not take efficient measures to fulfill the tasks listed in the aforementioned decree by the specified time (15 March 1993).

To this day, freely convertible currency has not been allocated to procure 28,700 tonnes of herbicides, 27,000 tonnes of seeds of hybrid varieties of maize, 117,000 tonnes of mineral (nitric and phosphoric) fertilizers, and sufficient quantities of fuel and lubricants to ensure timely spring field operations, which are increasing to cover 4.2 million hectares more this year in comparison with the corresponding period of last year.

Proceeding from the above, Ukraine's Supreme Council decrees as follows:

1. To propose that Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers, jointly with Ukraine's National Bank, discuss and resolve without delay the following questions:

providing the agro-industrial complex with the full amounts of fuel and lubricants, seeds, mineral fertilizers, means for the protection of plants, and other material and technical resources for conducting the complex of agricultural work;

making payments to purchase apatites from Russia in order to manufacture phosphoric fertilizers in Ukraine and to provide farms with them;

granting preferential credits to agriculture for financing the entire complex of work and also technical credit to Russia to pay for petroleum products, mineral fertilizers, and means for the protection of plants and animals;

the temporary suspension of advance payments for the material and technical resources that are necessary for the agro-industrial complex;

establishing a mechanism for carrying out barter exchange and currency regulation in the interests of agricultural producers.

2. Ukraine's government and local representative and executive authorities are in charge of the timely material and technical provision of the complex of work in the agro-industrial complex.

3. To propose that Ukraine's president and prime minister consider the question of the expediency of introducing the post of Ukraine first vice prime minister for questions of the agro-industrial complex in Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers.

4. To extend the action of item 2 of Ukraine's Supreme Council Decree of 21 February 1992 "On the Rates of Excise for Individual Goods" to 1993-94.

5. To authorize commissions of Ukraine's Supreme Council for Questions of the Agro-Industrial Complex, Revival, and Social Development of the Village to prepare a program for the production and material and technical provision of the branch to create favorable conditions for agricultural producers and restructuring their relations with governmental structures on a contractual basis.

[Signed] I. Plyushch, chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council

[Dated] Kiev, 17 March 1993

Kuchma's Adviser Views Economic Policy

AU2903183893 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 23 Mar 93 p 6

[Interview with Volodymyr Ryzhov, the Ukrainian prime minister's adviser for microeconomic questions, by Yuliya Byelova; place and date not given: "A Brickwork Over Abyss, or About the Logic of the Economic Reforms"]

[Text] **What the government has managed and what it has failed to do over the period of time that has passed since it was given special powers, what is, today, the "recipe for survival" for an entrepreneur and for an ordinary citizen, and whether Ukraine must change its position on economic interrelations with Russia—these are the main points of our correspondent's conversation with Volodymyr Ryzhov, the Ukrainian prime minister's adviser for microeconomic questions.**

[Byelova] This transitional period abounds with contradictions. Which of them are, in your opinion, particularly significant for the economy?

[Ryzhov] The dual complexity of today's situation: In order to render our economy efficient, it is necessary to implement market transformations and start them off with a monetary [monitarna] policy. As regards contradictions, the main one is this: We have large quantities of processing enterprises that have "emerged" from socialist policy. These are unprofitable enterprises that sometimes even suffer losses, yet they provide people with the means for subsistence. Monetary policy demands that such unprofitable enterprises be eliminated, whereas the approach favoring the protection of processing industry (to reform it so as to make it profitable) demands an entirely different policy: keeping them intact. This is that narrow brickwork that the government has constructed and is trying to walk upon while balancing among the contradictions.

[Byelova] One increasingly hears accusations that the government, by its actions, is returning to the administrative command system....

[Ryzhov] It is necessary to create single rules of the "game" for all subjects of economic management and this is precisely what the government is doing today. These must be market rules for private and state enterprises, as well as for banks and financial, trade, and intermediary companies. For this, it is necessary to capitalize state enterprises. Unless we give the means of production, regardless of their form of ownership, the status of production capital, they will never gain the necessary confidence to manufacture profitable and competitive goods in a normal way. Our government has received, as a legacy, anarcho-pseudosyndicalized and self-destructive enterprises. It was necessary to restore control over them in order to have these enterprises capitalized. This control was introduced as control "from above." Hence the accusations that the government is returning to the old administrative command system.

Yet another accusation against the government was that it created the State Committee for Resources. The next steps will necessarily be the creation of a state contracting company and an improvement in the system of state contracts.

We also had to make a whole batch of decrees guaranteeing free access for any manufacturer to all types of resources. As a rule, this is ensured in the world by a broad network of wholesale trade and intermediary companies complete with all types of resource exchanges.

[Byelova] How do you envisage measures to restrain monopolization and support competition?

[Ryzhov] Today, the existence of monopoly enterprises is perfectly justified. If we proceed from the logic of the developed countries, such enterprises must be liable to such considerable taxation that they may be totally ruined. As things stand at present, it may involve billions [monetary unit not specified] to create a competitor for such an enterprise. There is only one way out: It must be under control, and this control must only be accomplished by the government. Even though, in this situation, it is easy to accuse it of "grabbing everything for itself." However, there is no other way out. Today, during the transitional period, the government must have control over the economy in order to create the conditions for it to reduce any interference in it in the future.

[Byelova] Notwithstanding this, almost all measures taken by the government are regarded as unpopular.

[Ryzhov] There can be no popular measures in a country that is passing from one economic formation to another and from the distributive-planned economy to a market one. People who got used to 70 years in a particular economy and are not properly informed about the real advantages of another economy must undergo psychological adjustment. We do not like it when repairs are carried out in our home. At present, repairs are under way throughout our country. In this situation, the measures being taken by the government are not understood by many people and are, for that reason, unpopular.

[Byelova] Is the assertion that the government is raising prices justified?

[Ryzhov] It is incorrect, because, owing to the lack of capital, the government is simply reducing subsidies for the manufacturers. When the government reduces subsidies, the price immediately "shows" how we work. As to why the prices of commodities on sale are so high, one must remember: The price is determined by demand and not established by the government.

[Byelova] Is there a "recipe for survival" for an ordinary citizen?

[Ryzhov] The longer we, in labor collectives, demand wages without thinking how to earn them, the worse our life will be. If you are concerned about your family, you will always find a way to make some extra money, that is to say, your additional labor will create additional output. If everybody does that.... It is necessary to "break" the mentality of collectivism. Collectivism is needed when there is a disaster. Today, a different thing is important—personal initiative.

[Byelova] Is initiative no longer punished? Is entrepreneurship, in accordance with the current legislation, something that is encouraged and not subject to condemnation and punishment?

[Ryzhov] Over many decades, entrepreneurship was condemned. Gorbachev only "made" a little "slit"—and people with initiative and enterprise appeared. Conditions for them were terrible. Entrepreneurship often degenerated into mafia structures, something that was promoted by the laws that existed in the former USSR. Neither the criminal nor civil legislation has, so far, been revised in our country. Such conditions do not make it possible for civilized entrepreneurship to develop.

[Byelova] So-called "profiteers" do not quite resemble civilized entrepreneurs. What to do with them?

[Ryzhov] When we curse these profiteers, we do not realize that these people are wholesale or retail intermediaries who adjust prices throughout the whole country: On the one hand, they ask exorbitant prices for themselves and, on the other, beat down the prices of monopolists. Owing to their mobility, they distribute products in all the regions of Ukraine. However, all the same, I do not defend them, since they have contributed to our inflation, which is not in any way justified economically. There is no need to fight against such profiteers—it is necessary to civilize them. Today, it would be useful to adopt codes of trade practices.

[Byelova] Why, in your opinion, do our entrepreneurs not feel comfortable enough in Ukraine?

[Ryzhov] If our entrepreneurs had a chance to familiarize themselves with trade and entrepreneurship, such as those that flourish in the Scandinavian countries or Germany, they would be terrified. In our country, any regulation is regarded as an infringement of entrepreneurship. (Perhaps just according to the principle: Everything is permitted that is not forbidden). The government is creating rules that will regulate mutual relations between one citizen and another as subjects of economic management, between the citizen and the state, the citizen as a producer, tax-payer, and so on. Throughout the world, this is precisely the government's holy duty.

[Byelova] In view of the certain deterioration in relations with Russia, what should Ukraine's position be toward Russia?

[Ryzhov] This is what the Russian mentality is like: The Russians go ahead as long as they are allowed to do so. History itself offers evidence for this. For both political and economic reasons, Russia cannot afford to give up its strong influence upon Ukraine. Ukraine's position must be independent, balanced, benevolent, but firm. This will mean normal relations. With regard to economists and entrepreneurs—profit will reconcile everybody; people will always find a common language. If, in searching for markets, we look only toward Russia, it will be a mistake. Ukraine needs to "pave" its way to Turkey, Greece, and other countries that are not yet "spoiled" by hi-tech products. Contacts with countries of the former CEMA are essential. Ukraine's market is not the East and not the West, but the East, the West, the South, and the North all at the same time. Its boundaries must reach as far as Ukraine can "reach" with its goods.

[Byelova] "The Law on Foreign Investments" adopted on 31 March 1992 gave the "green light" to investors, but is it really worth relying upon foreign investors for serious long-term investment? It appears that they shy away from investing in our country not only because of its political and financial instability, but are also reluctant to create yet another competitor in the future—Ukraine.

[Ryzhov] I think that the West has long realized that it is not quite profitable to invest in Ukraine. Nobody offers to invest in those of our projects that really involve reconstruction and for which we have little or no capital. For example, we produce a lot of metal, but we also consume a lot. Generally speaking, our metallurgy industry is unprofitable and the quality of the metal (with the exception of ferrous metals) is not very good. For the time being, it is a problem for the not so distant future. The reconstruction of the metallurgy industry requires billions [monetary unit not specified] in investment; the government does not have so much money, and private entrepreneurs have not yet accumulated enough capital to be able to handle such a task. However, foreign investors are in no hurry, because metal production in other countries is falling and social conflicts are brewing up, and here we are all of a sudden, ready to enter into competition with them.... It is a different matter to give credits for introducing the hryvnya [prospective Ukrainian monetary unit]. I think that this is the only justified type of crediting. In everything else, we must count upon out own forces.

[Byelova] It has been the fashion recently to ask for predictions. In assessing the future of the Ukrainian state, are you an optimist or a pessimist?

[Ryzhov] Fortunately, our people have patience in their genes. Besides, according to all estimates, it [improvement] will not take long. This coming autumn will see the beginning of growth. More than two months of the new year have passed and we see that the coupon has stabilized a little. The prices are increasing, but not at such "crazy" rates as they were at the end of last year. The curve of the [economic] decline has become more "gentle."

The economy, like mathematics, only understands its own logic and its own economic laws. If we survive the mathematical logic of economic reforms, "normalization" will start and then a rise. There are no reasons for long-term economic decline, other than political, natural, or social cataclysms. It is not wise to shake the brickwork and to demand that the government gives us things that it is unable to give. It is only possible to provide social guarantees for oneself by one's own labor. As for natural catastrophes, let us hope that God will spare us.

Belarus

Supreme Soviet Discusses Kebich, Shushkevich Reports

WS3003140593 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report by Mikhail Rudkovskiy]

[Text] [Rudkovskiy] Last week, the Council of Ministers chairman, the Supreme Soviet chairman, and the National Bank chairman delivered reports at the Supreme Soviet session. Discussion of their reports was planned for 30 March. Two issues—the state of economic affairs in Belarus and the development of economic ties of Belarus with the CIS countries—are on the agenda of the session. More than 50 deputies wanted to take part in the discussion. At the beginning of the session, Vyacheslav Francevich Kebich delivered a short report. He centered the deputies' attention on his idea of a new economic union within the CIS. Here is part of his report:

[Begin Kebich recording] I feel that it is necessary to clarify once more my idea of an economic union. Most of our economic difficulties depend on external factors, I mean the former USSR republics. At the same time, it would be wrong to say that the CIS is playing a regressive role in our development. We are convinced that the best form for our cooperation is the economic union. [end recording]

After that, the discussion of Kebich's report began. People's deputy Aleksandr Lukashenko supported the idea of joining the joint security system. Lukashenko spoke of his approaches to the other issues and the deputies could not but agree with him. The reports are being discussed in a businesslike atmosphere, without excess emotion. But the government was criticized more than once. We are fed up with political games! It is high time to solve difficult economic problems. These were the thoughts of many deputies who supported Kebich's idea of creating a new economic union within the CIS. I am inviting people's deputy Vladimir Novik to comment on this issue.

[Novik] This idea of a new economic union is not a new one. Nobody opposes this point of view. What is more, Kebich and his government have all the powers to create this new economic union. In this case, I think that our government has not coped with its responsibilities and has tried to lay the blame on the deputies. In my opinion, we need a new government to create a new economic union.

[Rudkovskiy] What is your opinion of the joint security system?

[Novik] As you have already heard, Russia is short of trained military personnel [words indistinct] to fight in local wars in Ossetia, Tajikistan, and other hot spots. Belarus could provide highly trained servicemen for such operations. In my opinion, our young people should stay alive and be faithful to Belarus.

[Rudkovskiy] Please, introduce yourself.

[Tatanenko] Tatanenko Boris Nikolayevich, people's deputy. I think that today we are discussing the most important issue for our Republic both from the political and the economic point of view. I would like to underline that we should change the style of our work. The Belaya Vezha agreement foresaw a single economic space, a single Armed Forces, and a single currency. We should blame our politicians for not fulfilling the clauses of this agreement. Economic unity is the most acute issue on the agenda. I support Kebich's proposal, and the proposals of our industrial managers and agrarians to look deeper into the economy.

[Rudkovskiy] I am inviting Chairman of the Commission Sergey Ivanavich Kotov to take part in our discussion.

[Kotov] We are having an interesting discussion on the most pressing issues. The adopted draft decisions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet will clarify the situation, but only for the nearest future because it is too difficult to foresee everything beforehand.

[Rudkovskiy] The discussion is continuing.

Associations Address Supreme Soviet, Demand CIS Union

WS3003113193 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report attributed to the press center of the Belarusian Government]

[Text] The Belarusian Scientific Industrial Association, the Industrialists Union, the Agricultural Union, and a number of other republican associations and unions have sent an open letter to Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich and to people's deputies. The authors of the letter express their concern over the stalemate in the Belarusian economy. If this process is not halted, the loss of markets will result in a dramatic decrease in industrial production. Hundreds of thousands people will lose their jobs and their livelihood. Agriculture, science, education, and the social sphere are also witnessing a crisis. In the current situation, when CIS economic agreements are not being used, only a close economic union with former USSR republics, Russia, in first place, will help the country carry out an economic reform, avoid social clashes, and join the world economic system. Negotiations with Russian, Ukrainian, and Kazakh leaders must start immediately. Industrialists and agrarians consider that equality, observation of national sovereignty, and single economic space with free circulation of goods, services, capital, and citizens, must become the basis of the union. It must envision a coordinated financial policy and joint security.

Kebich Denies Russian TV Report on Banknotes From Germany

WS3003143293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Russian Television journalists have reported that the first shipment of Belarusian national currency has arrived in Minsk from Germany. At the 11th Supreme Soviet session, deputies asked Prime Minister Kebich and National Bank Chairman Bagdankevich how true the report was. Kebich said: the Cabinet of Ministers has adopted no decisions with regard to the production of the Belarusian currency in Germany and shipping it to Belarus. Bagdankevich said: National Bank payment bills are being printed in Russia. In May, Belarus will receive a shipment of these bills worth a couple of billion rubles. This was prompted by a lack of cash.

Supreme Soviet Repeals Military Right to Political Activity

PM3003104393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Mar 93 p 2

[Valeriy Kovalev report: "Belarusian Army Depoliticized"]

[Text] Minsk—On 25 March the Belarusian Supreme Soviet came out in favor of the unacceptability of any sociopolitical activity in the republic's Army, and deleted from the article of the Republic of Belarus Law "On the Status of Servicemen" the right of the military to participate in political movements and parties in their own time.

Now Belarusian servicemen, like their Russian colleagues, are not entitled to get involved in politics either when performing their service duties or in their free time. It is as yet unknown whether or not many people's deputies in military uniform will remain in active service.

Chief of Staff on Reduction of Troops, Return of Officers

WS3103083293 Minsk RID in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] At a briefing held at the Council of Ministers, Belarusian Army Chief of Staff Nikolay Churkin said that Belarus would reduce the number of its troops to 100,000 (about 1 percent of the total population of the Republic). He also told the reporters that almost 1,500 Belarusian officers remained in the hot spots of the former USSR. Moreover, their commanders are unwilling to let them return home.

According to Personnel Department Chief Ivan Zubko, 871 officers are to return to the Republic from Baltic states. Some 539 of them have already received permission to transfer. One regiment still remains in the German territory. Houses for West Group servicemen have been built in Borisov, Maryina Gorka, Slonim, and Baranovichi.

Reporters were told that Nikolay Churkin did not know anything about plans for military cooperation between Belarus and Bangladesh, allegedly being elaborated at the Headquarters. The chief of staff also refuted claims about planned shipments of Belarusian tanks to Suriname.

Kebich, Russia's Shokhin Discuss Relations

LD3103123993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1041 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Mikhail Zhuravovich for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 31 Mar—Progress in implementing the Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation in 1993, the state of bilateral relations, customs barriers and duties, the clearing system, and other issues were discussed at a meeting late on 30 March between Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers, and Russian Vice Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin.

Kebich spoke of the Belarus Government's initiative to set up an economic union within the framework of the CIS. He also asked for additional supplies of oil to the republic for the duration of the sowing campaign.

The proposals made by the Belarus side were met with complete understanding. An accord was reached on postponing the introduction of customs duties on supplied resources, thus ensuring the fulfilment of oil quotas allocated to Belarus. Meetings and negotiations are to continue.

Moldova

Dniester Region To Set Up Own Armed Forces

LD3103012693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2011 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Marianna Maksimovskaya; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Dniester Region authorities today issued a statement in which they explain their decision to create their own armed forces. They say that they fear new operations by the Moldovan Army. They also point out that the question of the Dniester Region's political status has not yet been resolved. Incidentally, according to POSTFACTUM, General Lebed, commander of the Russian Army in the Dniester Region, is saying the same thing. He said in an interview that he does not intend to leave the region until this problem is resolved. At the same time the general made an interesting statement that his departure would be welcomed not only by the leadership of Moldova, but also by several of the leaders of the Dniester Region and that he would not give them that pleasure.

[Maksimovskaya] That interview by General Lebed was probably no surprise to the local authorities or to the inhabitants of the Dniester Region. Observers note that political confrontation broke out there threee months ago when the commander of the 14th Army criticized the leaders of the Dniester Region for their inaction in the talks with Moldova on a peace settlement. At that time the general sent to President Smirnov an ultimatum, as he put it, in which he called on the president and government of the Dniester Region to resign.

According to reports from Tiraspol, quite a strong opposition to the authorities exists there. The leading role in this is played by the so-called South-West Party of Economic Freedom; it is reported, by the way, that among its members are the leadership of some industrial corporations whose annual turnover is more than three times the budget of all of the Dniester Region. At the same time both sides are using most unexpected arguments. Bergman, commander of the Tiraspol garrison who supports General Lebed, stated, for example, that officers of the Riga special militia forces are using false names and hiding among the military leadership of the Dniester Region and a search is under way for them. In response to Bergman's assertions, the state secretary has been forced publicly to admit his links with the KGB. Meanwhile, the other side, so as not to be outdone, has accused the commander himself of beng an agent of four intelligence services simultaneously.

President Snegur Receives IBRD Delegation

LD3103124793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1111 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Dimidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau March 31 TASS—President Mircea Snegur received a delegation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), who arrived here on Wednesday [31 March], assuring them that the Moldovan leadership make every effort to strengthen peace and political stability in the republic.

The president voiced hope that the problems of the Dniester region and Gagauzia would be resolved before the end of the year, which would give an opportunity to move on to serious, well-thought-out reforms.

Snegur believes that the discussion of a draft new consitution of Moldova marked the beginning of a new stage in addressing the problems—this time a dialogue is being conducted with the population, to whom separatism and violence are alien, not with the leaders of the regions.

The delegation members were informed of the course of reforms in Moldova and the use of the credit which the IBRD granted to the country to eliminate the aftermath of drought. Specific draft programmes for winemaking and farm products processing, which are in need of financing, were also presented to the delegation.

Republic's Interests Hinge on Russia

OW3103142793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1301 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has expressed the hope that in the political confrontation in Russia, victory will go to President Boris Yeltsin and democrats. In the Moldovan president's opinion, voiced on Wednesday [31 March] during a meeting with a delegation from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD], on which forces would rise to the top in Moscow, democrats or conservatives, stabilization in the left-bank regions and in southern Moldova depends greatly on the outcome.

The head of state said in particular that the parliamentary commission would continue to control work on normalizing the situation in these regions, striving to inform their inhabitants of the necessity of urgently carrying out economic reforms, Snegur said.

"Their implementation will enable peace to be reached more easily in a united and sovereign Republic of Moldova," the Moldovan president stated.

During the conversation, the necessity of rapidly putting the privatization program into practice and of introducing a national currency was spoken of. Opportunities for the IBRD to grant credits of $60-70 Mn [million] were discussed in order to modernize the food processing industry and agro-industrial complex in the republic.

Snegur, German Experts Discuss Transition to Market Economy

AU3003112593 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2002 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 29/3/1993—Today Mircea Snegur, President of the Republic of Moldova, received Johannes Teichert and Leuther Gersdorf, German experts in the problems of the activity of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, states the press service of the Presidency. While discussing, they stressed that as the process of transition towards a market economy takes place within the mechanism of economic activity, it is important that they change everything, however the most important reform would represent the first, initial one. The German experts mentioned that the major field to be stressed by Leaders of Moldova must be the supply of food to the population in accordance with statutory regulations in force and that the Republic of Moldova cannot have other markets selling agricultural products, except those from the former socialist republics because those from the East are saturated. In another connection, Johannes Teichert and Leuther Gersdorf pleaded for status for an independent body of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Moldova. While referring to problems of national economy, Mircea Snegur underlined that the accomplishing of all cardinal reforms, such as privatization on the basis of national currency, would permit a rapid transition towards market economy. Mircea Snegur told his guests that he would sign in the near future a decree regarding the status of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Moldova, between Moldova and Germany. In addition the President informed that they will appoint an Ambassador of Moldova in Germany, states the communique of the press service of the Presidency.

Tiu, German Envoy Discuss Establishing Embassy in Bonn

AU3003164393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2002 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 29/3/1993—The functioning of the future diplomatic mission of the Republic of Moldova in Bonn and the activity of German Embassy in Chisinau: These were the main points of the meeting of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Moldova Nicolae Tiu, with Johannes Giffels, the charge d'affaires of Germany in Chisinau, informs the press office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the meeting they also approached aspects of relations between those two states.

Dniester Veterans Stage Protest Strike in Chisinau

AU3003112393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2002 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 29/3/1993—During the morning of 29 March a group of 30 persons who had been engaged in the Dniester military conflict installed two tents in front of the Moldovan Government declaring a strike. The strikers insist on unconditional and immediate freedom for all political prisoners in Tiraspol, the solving of the problem of refugees, the creation of donation areas for individual construction, and privileges for all those who had suffered as a result of the armed conflict. In the list of the strikers there are no demands of a political nature. The strikers interviewed by a BASAPRESS correspondent have stated that the situation of conflict [the strike] would not have appeared if the project N520 [expansion not known] adopted on the 5 August 1992, concerning social protection and material aid to the participants of the military conflict [in Dniester] and their families had been implemented.

Hunger Strike Continues

OW3003155493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1314 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The hunger strike, initiated on Monday [29 March] by the participants in last year's armed conflict in Dniester, continues in Chisinau in front of the government building in protest against the government's activity. The protesters believe that the government does not observe its own resolution on the granting of privileges to participants in combat operations.

The strikers set up a tent camp and announced that they would not leave the place until they met with Prime Minister Andrey Sangeli and their demands are met. For the moment, not a single government members has volunteered to meet with the protesters.

Last night, Mayor of Chisinau and Deputy Nikolay Kostin met with the strikers, but failed to persuade them to end the strike.

On Tuesday, protesters were joined by another group of young people who participated in the Dniester conflict. By now, a total of about 100 protesters are involved in the hunger strike.

Parliament Official Discusses Future Constitution

AU3103134693 Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 23 Mar 93

[Interview with Ion Hadarca, former vice president of the Moldovan Parliament, by Cristian Dutescu; place and date not given: "The Threat of Dictatorship"]

[Text] [Dutescu] Mr. Hadarca, what stage has work on drafting Moldova's constitution reached?

[Hadarca] It has had one reading: It was not really submitted to a vote, but its publication was approved so that when it returns to Parliament it can be voted on, after it is read there. It was a plausible process: votes were cast as a basis for public discussion and, after the discussion the draft will return to parliament, with relevant suggestions for modifications. In the case of articles where a common language between parliamentary fractions cannot be found, those articles will be submitted for "mediation." For example: the term "Moldovan language" is an extremely difficult issue. I do not want to go into too many details and discuss particulars, not out of fear, but nevertheless this would mean assuming certain risks.

[Dutescu] What kind of risks?

[Hadarca] We might be accused of wishing to deviate, of wanting to influence public opinion through declarations, and making erroneous interpretation about what the parliament and the commission in charge of editing proposals decided after the first discussions. There has not even been a really profound discussion. The report of the commission's president—who by that time had concluded his mission—was read.

[Dutescu] Are you talking about the president of the republic?

[Hadarca] Yes. It was not very advisable for him also to be the president of the commission drafting the constitution. Therefore, it was established that he had finished his task and parliament took over the finalizing of this document. That is where a certain animosity appeared. This discontent is connected with the expressions of united-national state, nation, language, symbolic, presidential institution, and the division of power in the state. I believe these issues will give rise to extensive discussions in society. I do not want to comment too much on it. Actually I am not even entitled to do so. For example, as far as the legal reform is concerned, we are only at the very beginning. We had an international conference on this issue. During that conference the most important issues in this area were approached. We have inherited a number of anachronistic institutions. Nevertheless we have a chance to reform them. We must make a very big qualitative leap in the case of all state institutions, because we have realized that we practically need a constitutional reform.

[Dutescu] Does the establishment of the new institutions in the new rule-of-law state Moldova aim to achieve a similarity between these institutions and those in Romania?

[Hadarca] I have always been in favor of this concept, for an association, for attempts to harmonize things. Certainly, first of all we wish to take our place amidst European civilization. Romania has inherited a few traditional systems in the area of education for example, social structures, even state structures that are currently being revived. The establishment of a rule-of-law state in Romania would also help us as one additional argument to promote our major ideas. Declarations were voiced on both sides to the effect that joint intergovernment, interparliamentary, and interstate groups are going to be established to help put certain joint mechanisms into operation. These are issues that would be worth discussing in detail if we had the time. I have worked out a study that I presented to the Conference of the Academies of Science and Economy in Bucharest and Chisinau. In that study I talked about the need to achieve the integration of the Moldovan and Romanian economic spheres. We propose to finalize these synchronization efforts through a fraternity treaty. Precisely this concept provoked great criticism from President Snegur. We were attacked through the 24 December declaration and ultimately that brought about our resignation.

[Dutescu] However, what made you resign?

[Hadarca] We tried in this way to save parliament and we preserved the chance to promote democratic reforms through parliament.

[Dutescu] Do you believe the current parliament, in its current composition, could impose a constitution that would —at least for the time being—block all attempts to get closer to Romania?

[Hadarca] For us it is important to preserve parliament as a place for democratic discussions, where these ideas could be studied, examined, and promoted. Certainly there are conservative and reactionary mentalities in parliament, but there are also democratic forces that insist on the implementation of the reform. On the other hand, there is the danger of a scenario of a preconstitutional regime, if the parliament is dissolved. The only way to pull ourselves out of the crisis is to preserve the Parliament.

Academician Says Scientists Leave Due to 'Poverty'

AU3003130193 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 25 Mar 93 p 5

[Svitlana Chala report from Chisinau: "Scientists Are Leaving the Country"]

[Text] **An extensive exodus of specialists from Moldova has been noted recently. In two years, 84 scientists, including two corresponding members and 16 doctors of sciences have emigrated.**

This was stated by Academician Andrei Andris, president of the Moldovan Academy of Sciences. He explained the situation that has resulted from the crisis being experienced by Moldovan science. According to him, the scientists have emigrated to Israel, the U.S., South America, France, Austria, and the CIS countries. The majority of those leaving say their move is due to basic poverty. The first wave of specialists' emigration was "linguistic"—predominantly Russian-speaking scientists were among those who emigrated. The second wave is taking place against the background of economic devastation of Moldova, and its best specialists are leaving in search of acceptable living and working conditions.

Kazakhstan

President Reportedly Denies Nuclear Deals With Iran

TA3003212593 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 2100 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Kazakhstan has said that it has not sold Iran nuclear warheads, nor does it intend to do so in the future. Our correspondent Arye Shaqed has learned that a commitment in this spirit was given to Israel's ambassador in Alma-Ata by the Kazakhstan president and members of his administration. It was further reported that Kazakhstan wishes to strengthen its ties with Israel and Western countries, which is why it has never considered such an option.

Nazarbayev Receives Mongolian Foreign Minister

LD3103010793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1650 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Serik Estemesov]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 30 Mar—Mutual tendency towards close cooperation has been expressed during today's meeting between Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and a Mongolian delegation led by Foreign Minister Tserenpiliyn Gombosuren. The head of the foreign political department stressed that Mongolia assesses highly and supports Kazakhstan's principled policy aimed at strengthening peace and trust in Asia and recognizes it as an important factor of stability in the region. That is why, today as well as tomorrow the two neighboring countries can present common positions.

Touching on bilateral relations, the minister noted that Mongolia is interested very much in developing economic ties with Kazakhstan as quite recently it was almost entirely dependent on the former USSR. Several contracts have already been signed between the two states, but their implementation is held back due to lack of quotas. Tserenpiliyn Gombosuren also spoke about problems connected with the departure of the Kazakhs.

Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed, is also interested in developing mutually beneficial relations with Mongolia, with which it is connected by deep historical roots. The Kazakhstan side does not impose any limitations in developing economic cooperation. Enterprises, commercial structures, and entrepreneurs of both countries should cooperate with each other more actively and, while doing so, should use most varied versions of mutual settlements. The republic's government is prepared to support them in every way.

The president noted the need to jointly address problems connected with the return of the Kazakhs to their historical motherland. In this respect, he said, we are acting in accordance with the Constitution and law, and, despite difficulties with housing and the shortage of funds, we have already received 40,000 people.

Nazarbayev Proposes Ratification of CIS Charter

OW3003173893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1603 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev advocates ratification of CIS Charter by the Kazakh parliament as soon as possible. Addressing the Supreme Soviet session on Tuesday [30 March] in Alma-Ata, he emphasized that, as a head of state, he does his utmost to preserve and support such interstate structure as the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Nazarbayev noted that seven states, which have signed the Charter, should solve four major tasks, including creation of "a normal bank union with a coordinated currency-credit policy; an economic committee to supervise the signed agreements; ensuring of a single defense apace; and defining the attitude towards the states which have not signed the Charter."

Kazakhstan's President indicated that he had enumerated his proposals in a telegram to leaders of CIS countries to which "all of them have responded" and currently they are to determine the date of their next meeting.

Parliament Ratifies Document

OW3103105393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1029 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [31 March] morning, Kazakhstan's parliament ratified the CIS Charter - the document which defines the CIS's goals and principles, and reflects the problems of collective security, military-political cooperation and other vitally important issues. In the afternoon March 31, the deputies will continue their work in the committees and commissions.

Nazarbayev Invites Parliament To Discuss Agriculture

OW3003130993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1041 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Nazarbayev has invited the Kazakh parliament that went into session in Alma-Ata on Tuesday [30 March] to "think over" the situation in farming and submit the issue to a plenary session. He pointed out to the difficulties caused by the disruption of traditional economic ties between former Soviet republics. On Monday eight vice-premiers and agriculture ministry representatives from 13 former Soviet republics assembled in Akmol (former Tselinograd, Kazakhstan) to discuss their restoration.

The Kazakh parliament is debating an agenda of over 25 items.

Official Favors Use of Military Police Force

PM3003152193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Mar 93 p 2

[Anatoliy Ladin report: "Kazakhstan Needs Military Police Too"]

[Text] Kazakhstan needs military police too. That was stated by republic State Counselor Kairbek Suleymenov to a session of the Kazakhstan Defense Ministry Collegium.

In his opinion, military police would free the command of units and subunits from the need to track down servicemen who have gone AWOL from their military units and certain other tasks.

Kyrgyzstan

President Meets With Mongolian Foreign Minister

OW2903150993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There is something Kyrgyzstan can learn from Mongolia in attracting foreign investment and in putting it into effect, President Askar Akayev said at a meeting with Mongolia's Foreign Minister Gombosuren on Monday [29 March].

He noted that Kyrgyzstan had been keen on Mongolia's advance toward democracy and reform and its construction of market infrastructure. He said that a bilateral cooperation agreement would be signed at top level not later than June.

On Monday, the foreign ministers of the two countries signed a protocol on cooperation between their foreign departments and an agreement on cultural exchange. They also initialed a friendship and cooperation treaty.

Vice President Defends Deals on Reexport of Goods

PM303135393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Mar 93 First Edition p 7

[Vladimir Berezovskiy report on interview with Vice President Feliks Kulov in Bishkek; date not given: "The Scandal Which Did Not Take Place"]

[Text] Bishkek—Recently the press, and IZVESTIYA in particular, has reported that Kyrgyzstan has reexported goods worth 29 billion rubles to third countries, including a particularly large quantity of Russian goods to China. I asked the republic's Vice President Feliks Kulov to comment on this situation.

Here, it is not just a question of me personally—I was, allegedly, in the habit of indiscriminately signing goods export licenses. What we have here is an attempt to cast a shadow over Russian-Kyrgyz relations, to present our republic as an unreliable, unconscientious partner.

Until August of last year, export licenses were issued by the republic's State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations. However, signs of bribery began appearing. People were, alas, suffering relapses of this chronic illness, all the more so when they caught the scent of foreign currency. It was decided to entrust this matter to me. Having had experience in the law enforcement agencies, I immediately broke the whole bureaucratic chain down which the licenses had literally been forcing their way, picking up extortion as they went. It is likely that several people were put in a bad position.

Did Russian goods leave for China by way of Kyrgyzstan? Yes, this did happen. However, before ringing all the bells, it is not a bad idea to check with the church calendar—or, to be more precise, with the Russian-Kyrgyz free trade agreement. Point 4 says in particular that "the sides have pledged not to permit the reexport of goods, in respect of which the other side is applying tariff regulation measures." But Russia introduced customs export duties in respect of the CIS countries only from February 1993.

The reexported goods were brought into Kyrgyzstan by commercial structures and were not sold here due to the economic crisis which had suddenly developed. Take a typical example. "Stroyleskomplekt" bought 600 tonnes of rails for tower cranes at the Moscow Commodities Exchange. But building in the republic had to all intents and purposes stopped. An offer was received from China. So I sign a license. Is it better that the rails lie about to rust away? Take another example. One of our metallurgical enterprises bought copper from a Russian metallurgical enterprise. There is a plant in the republic which produces copper wire, but it cannot afford this at commercial prices.

It is curious that the press got hold of licenses which did not result in any movement of goods due to deals falling through. The officials, most likely, held them back as a "compromising materials," which the trusting journalists swallowed.

I want to draw attention to the politics which are behind the fuss which has been kicked up. Someone clearly wants to drive a wedge among the CIS members. I must remind you of the recent attempt to create a scandal over Kyrgyzstan's sale of a consignment of "Kalashnikov" assault rifles to Tajikistan. The things that were said by people all over the place! Even though an agreement on the CIS member states' collective security does exist, under which the neighboring republic was granted assistance by arming its law enforcement agencies which had become powerless in the face of Islamic gunmen supplied with imported assault rifles.

Tajikistan

State of Emergency Introduced in Khatlon Oblast

LD3103053893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0443 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe, 31 Mar—A curfew and state of emergency regime were introduced this morning on the territory of Tajikistan's Khatlon Oblast and in the town of Kurgan-Tyube, the oblast center, and additional measures are being taken to step up the enforcement of public order in the republic's capital. This has been done to avert possible acts of provocation and the destabilization of the sociopolitical situation.

On Tuesday evening the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Presidium circulated a statement in connection with the tragic deaths of Sangak Safarov, chairman of the Popular Front, and Fayzuli Saidov, one of his associates, during the night of 20 March on the territory of Khatlon Oblast. In the statement it stresses that the "deaths of the glorious sons of Tajikistan are the outcome of intrigues by enemies of the nation who are not giving up attempts to destabilize the political situation and to cause a split in the unity of the nation." The hope is also expressed in the document that the people of Tajikistan will give a resolute rebuff to the enemies of the nation and will unite around the constitutional government.

By decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, 31 March has been declared a day of national mourning.

Today a funeral rally and the funerals of Sangak Safarov and Fayzuli Saidov will take place in the oblast center of Khatlon Oblast.

Government Investigates Death of Popular Front Leaders

OW3003133493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1312 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tajik government has ordered that the Popular Front's brigade headquarters in Bakhtar district be sealed off due to the death of the movement's leader, Fayzali Saidov who was shot last night in a quarrel with Sangak Safarov, chairman of that pro-government movement. Government members have left for Kurgan-Tyube to investigate the incident.

Interfax was told by military sources that Safarov, who arrived at brigade headquarters at 2 a.m., accused Saidov of his men's complicity in beating the refugees returning to their homes. In the squabble that followed, Safarov shot and seriously wounded Fayzali Saidov. Then a brigade commander's bodyguard shot and killed the Front leader. Saidov was moved to the intensive care ward of the Kalininabad hospital where he soon died.

Five bodyguards also died in the shoot-out.

The Tajik government ordered all roads leading to the Tajik capital starting at 8 a.m., roads to Kurgan-Tyube, and the main roads in the Khatlon Region to be closed off.

The funeral of the two Popular Front leaders, whose support brought the present government to power, will take place in Kurgan-Tyube Wednesday [31 March].

Authorities 'Fully in Control'

OW3003171193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1602 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tajik leadership is "fully in control" of the situation in the Khatlonsk District in southern Tajikistan, where leader of the pro-government National Front Sangak Safarov and famous field commander Fayzali Saidov were killed in a clash on Monday [29 March]. Chairman of the Tajik National Security Committee (NSC) Saydamyr Zukhurov reported this to Interfax.

He said that it is still too early to discuss the reasons for the incident, in which the two leaders of the national front fired upon one another. The operative group which left for Kurgan Tyube has not yet reported the results of the investigation.

The head of the NSC refuted rumors of uprisings in Kurgan Tyube and of the mobilization of National Front units, which supposedly began after the incident.

Zukhurov confirmed that representatives of the Tajik government will attend the funerals of the National Front leaders on Wednesday. The victims will be buried in their native regions: Safarov will be buried in Kulyab and Saidov will be buried in Kurgan-Tyube, in a collective farm named in his honor which was earlier called Kuibyshev.

Government Issues Statement

LD3103090593 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0400 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Statement by the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of Tajikistan on 30 March]

[Text] The people of Tajikistan and the People's Front of Tajikistan have suffered a great loss. Sangak Safarov, leader of the People's Front of Tajikistan and a leader of the struggle for freedom and independence, and Fayzali Saidov, one of the self-sacrificing fighters of the People's Front were killed by [word indistinct] murderers.

Enemies of the path of freedom chose as targets those who were dearly loved by the people. They killed men who had become favorites of the people of the country due to their good deeds and behavior. We sincerely state that the murder of these two brave men, whom the people rightly called their sons and fathers, was not a coincidence. Killing these two men was an integral part of the political plot of the enemies.

The people of Tajikistan are aware of the outcome of the tragic events of our country in 1992. They will never forget the names of these two fighters—guardians of the state and the law—because they united around themselves thousands of people from various parts of Tajikistan in their fight for freedom and against injustice and violations of the law. This unity led to the victory of the forces of [word indistinct].

The fight of these two people and their [word indistinct] brothers played an important role in saving Tajikistan from destruction. Today, Sangak Safarov and Fayzali Saidov are not with us, but their good names and achievements will eternally brighten our (?path). Meanwhile, we would like to point out that our enemies should give up such a futile imagination as intimidating us by threats and [word indistinct]. This cowardly act brings hundreds and thousands of Sangaks and Fayzalis from among the people. All people, young and old, swear that they will never return from the path they are following.

The plot against leaders of the people's freedom warns us that all of the forces have not given up their meaningless intention. For this reason, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the republic call on all people of our ill-fated country to be further united around the leadership of the state and the legal government and give assistance to a quick restoration of the democratic, legal, and secular state.

We remember Sangak Safarov and Fayzali Saidov because they loved their people, their country, and the happiness of the workers of Tajikistan [passage indistinct]. Our duty before their sacred spirit is [passage indistinct].

More Russian Soldiers To Patrol Tajik-Afghan Border

OW3003154893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1458 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to First Deputy Prime Minister Mukhammad Said Ubaidullayev, 700 more Russian soldiers will arrive to patrol the Tajik-Afghan border.

In an exclusive interview to Interfax Ubaidullayev confirmed that Davlat Usmon, former prime minister and deputy chairman of the Islamic Revival Party, had recently infiltrated into Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region under a false name.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: According to unconfirmed reports, as many as 12 armed opposition units are active in Gorno-Badakhshan Region.

Ubaidullayev does not think that the possible spring offensive of opposition fighters with the aim to proclaim an Islamic republic in the Pamirs poses a serious threat. (The country's National Security Council expects this offensive after April 17, at the end of a three month long training course. - IF).

The vice-premier recalled that in the case of an invasion from the south and of an attempt to change the existing order by force the CIS member states are committed to help Tajikistan by the Collective Security Treaty. Besides, he noted, "we have a firm pledge from certain states on their immediate sending troops in response to such provocations."

Ubaidullayev said that the country's defense ministry now has over 100 heavy armored vehicles at its disposal. What is more, he added, special security and interior units which help patrol the border "will not stay neutral any more, as they did with the former leadership was in power, but will be able to demonstrate their loyalty to democracy rather than to fundamentalism."

A spokesman of the 201st Russian division command who preferred to remain unnamed told Interfax that in the nearest future the Tajik defense ministry will have six multiple rocket launchers Grad and several 152 mm howitzers in compliance with an agreement on aid in the setting up of national armed forces.

That source thinks that Tajikistan is fairly well equipped militarily but the troops are not very good at handling that equipment and so would not be able to repel possible provocations from the Afghan territory. What is more, there is no plan of defense in the case of foreign aggression or a coordinating body to command all military units.

IF Note: At present the Russian 201st mechanized division, border guards, and air defense missile units and Tajik units of defense, interior, and security ministries are stationed in Tajikistan.

Feliks Kulov, Kyrgyz Vice-President, ordered the battalion of Kyrgyz border guards deployed on the Tajik-Afghan border to pull out before April 1. Following refitting the battalion will be redeployed in the same area. (This 500 men strong unit was moved to the border area by a decision of the Minsk CIS summit - IF).

By this withdrawal Kyrgyzstan does not go back on its commitments, Kulov said in an exclusive interview with an Interfax reporter. He said that the unit was formed hurriedly without proper logistic support and manned by soldiers from different services.

The vice-president also said that the refitting of the battalion was necessary because, following the Russian model, the Kyrgyz servicemen will be hired. In his words, now "a Russian soldier and a Kyrgyz officer are paid the same amount."

Rebels in Afghanistan Attempt 'Armed Breakthroughs'

LD3103091193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0730 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe, 31 March—The operative situation at the Tajik-Afghan border remains complicated. The press center of the Russian Federation troops headquarters in Tajikistan reports that after somewhat of a lull, formations of Tajik irregulars entrenched in the neighboring state have resumed attempts to stage armed breakthroughs across the border. Last night an unidentified group of approximately 30 people shot across the river at an outpost of the Moscow border detachment. The border guards did not return the fire. However, they took all measures to prevent a potential breakthrough across that section of the border. Seeing that their designs had failed, the offenders ceased the shooting.

During an operation which was conducted yesterday near border posts, servicemen from the same Moskovskiy border brigade discovered four large caches with weapons and ammunition. The departmental press center noted that weapons had been smuggled to the Tajik shore by one of Afghan opposition groups and later transported further inside the territory of the republic.

Speaking about the situation on the Pamir section of the border, the border troops headquarters said that it was relatively calm there. However it was not ruled out that the situation might deteriorate, because the so-called training camps consisting mainly of militants from the Tajik Islamic opposition continue to be reinforced in the immediate vicinity of the border, on the other side of the river.

It has been noted that at present this area is in urgent need of more servicemen. This is because the half a battalion of Kyrgyz border guards who had been deployed here pulled out yesterday following the Kyrgyzstan Government's decision, which stated that the Republic of Kyrgyzstan had no law on military service for its citizens in CIS "hot spots," including Tajikistan.

Turkmenistan

President Returns From Visit to U.S., Britain

OW3003144793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1344 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Reports prepared by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Having paid unofficial visits to the USA and Britain, President Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenistan returned to Ashgabat on Tuesday [30 March]. A major outcome of his trip was the agreement on granting Turkmenistan the best-favored nation status, signed with the USA.

According to the president's press service, Niyazov met with many American and British businessmen and discussed with them concrete cooperation projects, such as the building of a railway between Tedzhen and Meshed, and the laying of gas pipelines from Turkmenistan to Turkey and China.

Importance of Tour Stressed

OW3003130893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1042 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The unofficial visits of the Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov to the USA and Britain were important for establishing business relations. This was reported to Interfax by the press service of the Turkmen president who just returned to Ashgabat.

According to the service, during the course of talks in the USA, Turkmenistan was promised most favored nation trade status.

When the president met American and British businessmen he discussed the possibility of their involvement in economic projects in his country, specifically the construction of the railway Tejen-Meshkhed and gas pipelines to Turkey and China.

At the talks in London President Niyazov and Prime-Minister Major discussed "pressing foreign policy matters, specifically the situation in Russia and Asia."

Armenia

Foreign Ministry Responds to Azerbaijani Counterpart

NC3003181493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] In reply to the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry note of 27 March, the Armenian Foreign Ministry has formally declared that the Armenian-Azerbaijani border has, basically, been peaceful in the past few days. That includes Vardenisskiy Rayon, where there have been no clashes, only occasional firing of small arms.

According to information received by the Foreign Ministry, following attacks launched by the Azerbaijani Army, clashes are continuing on the northwest border of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Azerbaijan, which alone is to blame for the consequences of its own militaristic policy, has constantly refused all proposals to halt offensive operations before a cease-fire.

Azerbaijan is also to blame for delaying the talks and obstructing the agreements concluded on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict within the CSCE framework.

Azerbaijan's endorsement of the cease-fire and of the peaceful resolution of the conflict could best have been expressed by constructive participation in the CSCE process and by direct talks with Nagorno-Karabakh.

Butrus-Ghali Presses for Cease-Fire in Nagorno-Karabakh

OW3003155293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1314 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] United Nations Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali has urged the parties in the Nagorno Karabakh conflict to reach an immediate and lasting ceasefire, have observers stationed in the region, and have the Minsk group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meet as soon as possible.

According to Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's press service, Butrus-Ghali has sent a letter to Ter-Petrosyan commending the Minsk group's agreement on conditions for sending a group of CSCE observers to the region. The secretary general expresses the hope that "this encouraging achievement will be followed by an agreement on a procedure for the stationing of the observers and a draft for a political statement."

Karabakh Official Urges Azerbaijan To Negotiate

NC3103095093 Yerevan SNARK in English 0812 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Stepanakert, March 31 (SNARK)—"The constructive process on peaceful regulation of the Karabakh problem will be possible only if the Azerbaijan authorities officially recognize the truth—the conflict in the region isn't between Azerbaijan and Armenia, but between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh", Arkady Ghukasian [name as received], counselor on the external political problems of the chairman of the Karabakh Government. He is of the opinion that some of the Azerbaijani authorities are of the opinion that it is absolutely impossible to finish the problem using only force measures. Meanwhile Ghukasian is of the opinion that the increasing internal political contradictions existing in Azerbaijan prevent to express their opinion on no perspectives of the military pressure in Karabakh. [as received] As for the intermediary missions of some of the Western countries, they are, according to Ghukasian, probably, on the way of recognizing Karabakh as the conflict side and are for the immediate beginning of the negotiation process. But the Rome meetings within the CSCE are following the rules, suggested by Azerbaijan. By the way the latter are neutralizing the efforts West is showing to establish peace in the region. Arkady Ghukasian is of the opinion that the representatives of Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh should negotiate. Otherwise there will be no results.

Karabakh 'Defenders' 'Neutralize' Several Areas

NC3103101193 Yerevan SNARK in English 0812 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Stepanakert, March 31 (SNARK)—The Karabakh forces of the self-defense are going on with successful actions on setting free the occupied territories of Nagorno-Karabakh. According to the data received from the Karabakh State Committee of Defense, yesterday and last night the Karabakh defenders managed to neutralize the emplacements at the villages Vank, Bagirly, Kechilikaya and Chorman, situated on the territory of Kelbadzharskiy Rayon, just at the border with Mardakertskiy Rayon on Nagorno-Karabakh where the Azerbaijani units were shelling the peaceful settlements of Nagorno-Karabakh from. [passage omitted]

'Tension' Continues Along Border

NC3103091293 Yerevan SNARK in English 0639 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Yerevan, March 30 (SNARK)—The tension is going on at the Azerbaijani-Armenian border. SNARK was informed by Defence Ministry of Armenia the positions at the Armenian border forces were shelled at south-east Armenia near Voskepar and Sotk. Earlier last evening khndzoresk, Khnatsakh, Karashen settlements were shelled from the territory of Kubatly region of Azerbaijan. The Armenian side retaliate.

Actions in Lachin Corridor Reported

NC3103093793 Yerevan SNARK in English 0639 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Stepanakert, March 30 (SNARK)—The Azerbaijani units are going on with military actions with the aim to cover the Lachin humanitarian corridor, a link between Karabakh and Armenia. So last night and yesterday morning the battles developed on northern part of this zone. SNARK's reporter was informed by staff of Karabakh self-defense forces the Azerbaijani side used tanks, artillery and planes. Simultaneously the positions of zone defenders were shelled at the southern zone approaches. There were wounded. Besides, according to date from the same source, last evening the self-defense forces of Karabakh succeeded to neutralize the enemy fire points at Enikend and Aghjakent settlements at the north-east Kelbadzharskiy region and set a control under the settlements. Edillu the Armenian settlement of Gadrutskiy region at south Karabakh were shelled. During the hostilities both sides had losses.

Azerbaijan Reportedly 'Lost 900 Men'

NC3003173893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Dear listeners, we now report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Combat operations continue unabated in Nagorno-Karabakh. The confrontation is very serious on the Mardakertskiy frontline. Armenian self-defense forces have maintained counterattacks after repelling the enemy's onslaughts. Azerbaijani National Army [ANA] units have resisted them strongly, but they have been forced to gradually retreat from the positions they occupied. Enemy casualties have increased considerably.

Fierce fighting took place in the east and west of Mardakertskiy Rayon during the past two days. The NKR self-defense forces destroyed enemy positions around Sarutsar, [placename indistinct], Agdaban, [placename indistinct], and on several heights. Azerbaijan lost 900 men in clashes in those areas during the past two days. Five enemy tanks and an infantry vehicle were hit and an artillery gun, [word indistinct], and military equipment were seized. Troops were also killed or wounded on the Armenian side. The military operations did not stop there. Azerbaijan's military units also tried to launch large-scale attacks elsewhere on the battlefront. They attacked Nerkin Oratag, which was recently liberated by NKR freedom fighters, but failed to achieve their objective. The attack was repelled.

According to reports we have received, fighting is taking place near Mardakert. Azerbaijan's usurping military units are putting up a stiff resistance, but they cannot obstruct the advancing Armenian fighters. The Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh] fighters hold the military initiative.

The situation in the other NKR border rayons is tense, although active military operations have not taken place.

We reported earlier that Azerbaijan massed many units and military equipment in areas near the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon. They have frequently fired on the corridor area with various types of arms. They launched a new attack yesterday but failed to achieve their objective. The NKR self-defense forces are effectively defending the corridor. Traffic is flowing on the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert highway. As usual, it is being used to transport humanitarian aid to the NKR people, who are waging a national liberation struggle.

Regrettably, tension still prevails on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The neighboring republic has maintained its provocation. Armenia's border rayons were fired on with heavy arms from Azerbaijan during the past two days. The Armenian self-defense forces took appropriate measures to silence enemy fire emplacements in every case. The border rayons and residential areas and defense positions in Tavushskiy Rayon, including Berd, were fired on from Azerbaijan's Tauzskiy Rayon yesterday and last night. Several buildings were destroyed and five people were wounded in [placename indistinct].

The situation worsened drastically on the border between Armenia and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR] during the past two days. Yeraskhavan, Armash, and Sevakavan were fired on from the NAR last night. The Armenian border guards retaliated. We have not received any accurate information on enemy casualties.

Talks were held between responsible officials from the two sides on the possibility of halting the firing. We would like to hope that peace and security will be established on that part of our border.

Azerbaijan's military units also fired on several other rayons at short intervals. Obviously, the Azerbaijan Military Command Headquarters wants to redeem its losses on the NKR battlefronts by attacking our border rayons. But the incidents confirm that the enemy's provocations will not succeed. The Armenian self-defense forces are retaliating to obstruct Azerbaijan's provocative activities. The neighboring republic must realize that resolving the dispute and solving the problems by armed force against Armenia is impossible. [passage indistinct]

Fighting Updated

NC3003191093 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] KARABAKH NEWS AGENCY cites self-defense forces headquarters as reporting that the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] self-defense forces are still in firm control of the liberated settlements in Mardakertskiy Rayon, as well as the strategically important heights near Nerkin-Oratag and Mardakert.

Positional battles have been continuing on this battlefront since last night. There are no reports on casualties.

Azerbaijani National Army subunits are still shelling the settlements in the northwest of Mardakertskiy Rayon from their military bases in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon. There are dead and injured. Casualty figures are being determined. The Armenian self-defense detachments are taking retaliatory measures to silence the enemy's firing positions.

It was also reported from Stepanakert that a relative calm prevailed in the other regions of NKR.

Isolated positional exchanges of fire took place along the Lachin humanitarian corridor. These incidents did not bring about any essential change in the military situation.

The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that an exchange of fire took place on the borders of Khndzoresk, Khnatsakh, and Karashen in Gorisskiy Rayon. The shelling came from Azerbaijan's Kubatlinskiy Rayon. An Armenian freedom fighter was injured.

The Azerbaijanis also opened fire on the defensive positions at Voskepar and (Gotkiy) in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon. The Armenian forces took counter measures. There are no casualties on our side.

A relative calm prevailed in the other border regions of Armenia.

Prime Minister Visits South, Stresses Region's Importance

NC3003184493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Zangezur [southern Armenia] must be strengthened and rendered impregnable and unassailable, and any (?design) to covet our lands must be quashed. The Zangezur state program aims at realizing this objective.

A government delegation's working visit to the region on 27 and 28 March was one of the first steps toward implementing this program. The delegation was headed by Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan. The visit started from Megrinskiy Rayon. The prime minister saw the temporary bridge linking Armenia to Iran. In view of our developing economic and trade ties with our southern neighbor, the permanent bridge is already under construction. The main customs post is planned to be completed by the end of the year.

Many practical problems were raised during the prime minister's meeting with the rayon soviet deputies, rayon soviet executive committee members, and enterprise directors.

Georgia Agrees to Joint Patrol of Transportation Routes

NC2603200893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 26 Mar 93

[Text] The Council of Ministers Presidium held an expanded meeting under Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan yesterday to discuss matters related to the organization of the repair work on the bridge blown up in Georgia's Marneulskiy Rayon on 23 March. The meeting heard a report from Deputy Prime Minister Vigen Chitechyan on the results of talks held by an Armenian Government delegation with Georgian officials. In response to Armenia's concern that Georgia is not fulfilling its obligations to protect the communications routes and gas pipeline, the Georgian authorities indicated that the guards protecting these installations had to be transferred to Abkhazia and agreed that henceforth these installations should be protected jointly by Georgia and Armenia.

The presidium decided that until the bridge is repaired, a temporary bridge should be set up near the damaged one. The temporary bridge will be built by 8 April.

The presidium considered alternate routes to import grain and fuel to meet the republic's vital needs.

Presidential Press Secretary Aram Abrahamyan held a news conference today on the explosion of the bridge, which was the only important route linking Armenia with the outside world.

Abrahamyan did not make any hasty conclusions, but he noted that eyewitnesses said the terrorist action was carried out by professionals. It required detailed and prolonged work, none of which could not have gone unnoticed. It is significant that in accordance with the agreement signed in February, Georgian authorities assumed the responsibility of protecting the pipeline and communications routes, including railways. According to the agreement, the bridge should have been guarded by four Georgian policemen; however, at the time of the explosion, no one was guarding it. What is also disturbing is that the Georgian authorities have not begun investigating the incident yet.

Abrahamyan told reporters that a new Armenian-Georgian agreement was signed on 24 March. According to this new agreement, the pipeline and communications routes in Georgia will be guarded by joint Armenian-Georgian teams.

At the beginning of this year, the Armenian side proposed joint protection of these installations following the frequent acts of terrorism in Georgia's infamous Marneulskiy Rayon; however, the proposal was turned down by Georgia for various reasons.

Abrahamyan said the exceedingly difficult situation in Armenia due to the explosion of the bridge is at the center of attention of U.S. officials. He noted that Fred [last name indistinct], the U.S. official overseeing the dispatch of U.S. humanitarian assistance to Armenia, has visited the explosion site and has conveyed the concern of the U.S. Government to Georgian authorities. The Georgian side has indicated that the bridge could be repaired within two months.

The presidential press secretary added that plans are being made to transport fuel and humanitarian assistance to Armenia via other routes.

Azerbaijan

Baku Details Foreign Ministry Protest to Armenia

NC3003182893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Foreign Affairs has protested to the Armenian Foreign Affairs Ministry over the Armenian Armed Forces' new, large-scale attack on Azerbaijan's border. Many people died and the attack caused damage. The protest note said: The Armenian Armed Forces violated Azerbaijan's border on 20 March and occupied Ashagy Gyuyaly and Dzhambaz. Zangelan, Sherifan, and the 30th residential area were subjected to intense firing.

The note stated that Sogukbulakh, Soyutlu, and Ichura in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon were fired on from Armenia's Vardenisskiy Rayon with artillery and Grad rocket launchers on the night of 26 March. Three Armenian combat helicopters violated Azerbaijan's state border and bombed the three towns.

The note said that the Azerbaijani Foreign Affairs Ministry regards Armenia's latest military operations as a gross violation of international norms, which are reflected in the UN Charter, and the CSCE principles and believes that the objective is to disrupt the negotiating process within the CSCE framework, which aims to remove the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan. By spreading the dispute throughout the entire border between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Armenia has proved that it intends to solve the problem through the use of force.

The note pointed out: These activities force Azerbaijan to retaliate to safeguard its territorial integrity. Consequently, Armenia alone will be responsible if the dispute broadens further.

'Fierce Fighting' Continues on Karabakh Border

OW3003135993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1314 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The headquarters of Karabakh self-defense forces report that the most fierce fighting was registered last night on the border of Karabakh's Martuni region and Azerbaijan's Kelbadzhar region.

According to this source, Armenians have eliminated a number of Azerbaijani bases and killed 16 Azerbaijani soldiers. They have also seized two tanks and three armored personnel carriers, and also fire arms and ammunition. The self-defense forces have lost 2 men.

The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry has announced that the national army was involved in hard defensive operations in the Kelbadzhar region. Last night, an Armenian tank, armored personnel carrier, a Grad multiple rocket launcher and two trucks with ammunition were put out of action. Baku reports that the Armenian offensive involved Armenian combat helicopters. It also says that part of the Kelbadzhar region was occupied.

To quote both Armenian and Azerbaijani sources, fierce fighting continues in the region of the Lachin corridor. According to sources in Stepanakert, the Armenian forces are trying hard to check the offensive of the Azerbaijani forces which are trying to cut off the only road linking Karabakh and Armenia.

Armenian Advance in Lachin Reported

NC3003161993 Baku TURAN in English 1443 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Baku (30 March) TURAN—Armenian sub-units continued their attacks to the north of the road of Lachin-Goris. By information of the ministry of defence of Azerbaijan, Armenian sub-units within last twenty-four hours advanced in this direction more than 10 km. And captured a dozen of villages on the northern part of Lachin. So, Armenian sub-units practically encircled the region of Kelbadzharskiy of Azerbaijan. By information of the same source, the attack of the enemy continues.

[In a related, Moscow-datelined report, Paris AFP in English at 1545 GMT on 30 March adds the following: "Armenian troops are closing in on Azerbaijani forces sent to defend the strategic town of Kelbadzhar, after seizing 10 surrounding villages in the dispute over the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave, Armenian sources said.

["In Baku, the spokesman for the Azerbaijani defense ministry, Captain Azad Isazade, conceded that the situation was now 'delicate for our troops in this region.'

["He said the 10 villages fell to the Armenians on Monday in a two-pronged attack launhced from the Armenian border and Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian-majority secessionist enclave inside Azerbaijan.

["Kelbadzhar lies in a mountainous pocket in the Armenian-controlled Lachin corridor between Armenia and the embattled Nagorno-Karabakh enclave.

["The spokesman said the Armenians had also cut off the route between eastern Azerbaijan and Kelbadzhar that Baku used to send supplies to its troops in the Lachin corridor.

["The "population of this region is isolated", he said.

["Unconfirmed reports in the Azerbaijani capital also said that Mardakert in the north of Nagorno-Karabakh, the last city controlled by Baku inside the disputed enclave, had fallen to the Armenians.

["Azeri forces recaptured Markadert last July, but the Armenians were reported to be within a few kilometers (miles) of the city's center after advancing for several weeks.

["The Azerbaijani defense ministry on Tuesday neither denied nor confirmed the report, saying only that Monday night Mardakert was still in Azeri hands.

["Azerbaijan's losses in the enclave have created tension throughout the republic and trouble for the government in Baku, blamed for the setbacks. The dispute over the Armenian-majority enclave has dragged on for five years and left more than 3,000 dead.

["In February, the tension spawned rumors of a military coup attempt against Baku's civilian government led by President Abulfaz Elchibey.

["The main Azeri opposition leader, Etibar Mamedov, late Monday again called for Elchibey's resignation and early elections.

["Mamedov also called for a demonstration Wednesday outside the presidential palace in Baku. The call won backing journalists' unions who issued a strike order to protest action by Azerbaijan's Interior Minister Iskender Khamidov.

["Khamidov, leader of the ultra-nationalist organization Gray Wolves who is always surrounded by a team of bodyguards, interrupted a live television debate Saturday, insulting opposition members who had critized the government.

["He also beat up a journalist and the Social Democratic opposition leader Zardusht Alizade last week, after hitting two other reporters last year.

["The opposition has charged that the interior ministry is gaining influence in Baku and warned that it could turn into a dictatorship.

["The situation was reported to be particularly strained in Gyandzha, in the northwest, where Azerbaijani sources said armed incidents broke out recently between forces loyal to the government and those backing Surat Guseynov, the former commander of Azeri troops in Nagorno-Karabakh. Both he and former defense minister Rakhim Gaziyev were ousted last month amid Baku's military losses in the enclave."]

Armenians Occupy Villages; '60,000 Men' Threatened

NC3103115693 Baku TURAN in English 1112 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, 31 March (TURAN)—Infantry and armored sub-units of Armenian Army, invaded the territory of Azerbaijan from two sides and occupied to the morning of March 31, 15 villages of the region of Kelbadzhar. About 20 villages on the north of Lachin are cut off at present from outer world. Armenian sub-units did not leave any corridor for peaceful population.

Today morning Armenian sub-units continued advance by road to the regional centre of Kelbadzhar, advanced sub-units of Armenians are from several kilometres from the regional centre. There is a real threat for the life of more than 60,000 men.

Regions of Kelbadzhar and Lachin are on the west of Azerbaijan and borders upon Armenia from one side and with Nagorno-Karabakh from another side. A considerable part of the region of Lachin was occupied by Armenian sub-units already in summer, last year.

Mamedov Criticizes President, Demands Khamidov Dismissal

NC3003145093 Baku TURAN in English 1214 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, 30 March (TURAN)—As it was expected today at the session of the Meli Mejlis leader of the opposition, chairman of the Party of National Independence [PNI] Etibar Mamedov made a statement in which subjected the president to severe critics for violation of law and rashness in Azerbaijan.

Mamedov demanded of the president to report the parliament on situation on the sphere of policy, economy as well as situation on front. Besides he raised question concerning the institution of criminal proceedings against Minister of Internal Affairs Iskender Khamidov for assault of the editor of the newspaper "ISTIGLAL". The leader of the opposition demanded to precipitate acception of the decision on [passage indistinct] out of the parliamentary elections.

At present the parliament set about the discussion of the statement of Etibar Mamedov.

As it was already informed, tomorrow supporters of the PNI must begin to picket the building of the Supreme Soviet with demand of dismissal of Minister of Internal Affairs Khamidov.

Parties Urge 'Appraisal' of Minister

NC3003172893 Baku TURAN in English 1443 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, March 30 (TURAN)—More than ten political parties of Azerbaijan approved an appeal to the president of the Republic to give a proper appraisal of the Minister of Internal Affairs Iskender Khamidov's actions. Among the parties approved the appeal there are influential parties such as National Independence, New Azerbaijan, Gurtulush, Musavat, Social-Democratic, National-Democratic and others.

According to the information the same appeals are being approved by other political parties of the republic as well.

As TURAN agency was informed by the Binagadi [as received] Department of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan [PFA] the meeting of the regional department of this organization will hold today. The appraisal of Khamidov's actions who is a member of the PFA of this region is expected to be given on the meeting.

Khamidov 'Denounced'; President's Speech Awaited

NC3003190993 Baku AZERTAC in English 1708 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, March 30 (AZERTAC)—The National Assembly of Azerbaijan discussed the situation in Azerbaijan and decided to hear the account of President Abulfez Elchibey about his work as a head of the state. A deputy, a leader of the much influential opposition party Milly Istiglal (National Independence) Etibar Mamedov had a speech about this. He also acclaimed resignation of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Iskender Khamidov, who had insulted representatives of authority and opposition and beat the editor-in- chief of the social-democrats paper on television debate, translated !ive.

Parliamentaries denounced the actions of the minister of internal affairs, without giving legal estimations of the incident, it was decided to bring presidents attention to the question about taking measures in respect of I. Khamidov.

The minister of internal affairs, who was attending the session, acclaimed that he was not guilty, but he was ready to answer for his action in accordance with the law if it would be necessary.

In spite of demands of a number of men from presidents surroundings and representatives of opposition, Abulfaz Elchibey did not express his opinion on the last events. However, according to the head of the parliament, Isa Kamberov, president of Azerbaijan is expected to have a speech on the national television.

Khamidov Warns of Bloodshed at Rally

NC3003195293 Baku AZERTAC in English 1820 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, March 30 (AZERTAC)—Deputies of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan did not support a proposal of the Parliaments Speaker Isa Kamberov to suspend temporarily meetings in connection with aggravation of social and political situation in the republic. However, result of the voting at the noon session could not have an influence on decision of the opposition party Milly Istiglal to hold a meeting in front of the Supreme Soviet building at noon tomorrow. The meeting will be held in any case, the leader of the party Etibar Mamedov said.

Minister of Internal Affairs Iskender Khamidov has pointed out at the session that such statements of the opposition aggravated the situation. He also stated that tomorrows meeting could lead to disorders. And more, the minister warned, blood might be shed.

Opposition Cancels Rally

NC3103095593 Baku TURAN in English 0931 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, 31 March (TURAN)—Chairman of the Party of the National Independency (PNI) Etibar Mamedov reported yesterday evening by the national television. He informed that the meeting of opposition, fixed at 12 o'clock on March 31 before the building of the Supreme Soviet is abolished.

Mamedov justified his decision by achievement of the agreement with President Elchibey concerning realization of demands, laid down on the eve. Mamedov called among another causes, induced the opposition to abolish the meeting, difficult situation on front and possibility for the third side to use the situation in Azerbaijan.

Mamedov informed also that agreement to conduct sanction meeting by the opposition on April 17 is reached.

In spite of the statement of Mamedov on abolishment of the meeting doubled duty details of police are advanced from this morning on the main square of Baku—'Azadlig' and in front of the building of the Supreme Soviet.

As it was already informed, on March 29 PNI laid down demands on dismissal of the government, to fix the date of the parliamentary elections and to make minister of internal affairs answer.

Decision on Khamidov Expected Soon

NC3103095893 Baku TURAN in English 0931 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, 31 March (TURAN)—Informations on report on March 30 of President Elchibey by television were not confirmed.

Performance did not take place because the final decision concerning dismissal of Minister of Internal Affairs Iskeneder Khamidov is not yet accepted—informed a source, close to encirclement of the president, the TURAN agency. The same source informed that the question on dismissal of Gamidov is not removed from the agenda. The decision by this question will be possibly accepted in the nearest time.

Georgia

'Key' to Georgia's Peace in 'Russia's Hands'

LD3103100293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0855 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Albert Kochetkov; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Tbilisi, 31 March—"The only way to pull Russia out of the crisis" is to implement President Yeltsin's platform. "Anything else will mean a return to the past," stated Eduard Shevardnadze, parliament chairman and head of the Georgian state in an interview with ITAR-TASS correspondents.

"The political crisis, instigated by the actions of the right, benefits the right. As always in similar circumstances, they are little bothered about saving Russia—the struggle is for power, he underlined. The revanchist ambition of the red and brown shirts will not be stopped even by the menace of chaos and anarchy, and, as a result, of a civil war." "Should there be an explosion in Russia, the pieces will also fall on other countries. Georgia will not be immune from them either," Shevardnadze maintains.

"The main thing at the moment is that there has been no reaction. However, anything could still happen if Yeltsin does not strengthen his position," he warns. "The whole world has an interest in stabilization in Russia."

"Georgia needs peace just as it needs air to breathe. The key to this lies in Russia's hands," Shevardnadze said in relation to the prospects for bilateral relations. "I have learned that Russia has started preparing for a summit meeting between the president of Russia and the head of state of Georgia. The Georgian parliament has instructed its chairman to hold talks with the Russian president on all issues of mutual interest. I think that the most favorable conditions for holding this meeting have now developed." "Whether people like it or not, it is Georgia's destiny that its prosperity or otherwise depends to a considerable extent upon its neighbors, particularly on such a neighbor as Russia."

"No descriptions, not even the most unflattering, could be seen as extreme"—such is his assessment of the political and economic situation in Georgia. "Serious upheaval in the financial sphere has recently been added to the continuing slump in production, the idle sectors of industry and agriculture, the grave consequences of economic blockades and the impossibility of attracting Western investment because of the political confusion."

"I have been and remain an adherent of political methods of settling conflicts," Shevardnadze stated, "including in Abkhazia. The normative basis exists, namely the final document of the Moscow meeting of 3 September 1992. It would be a good thing if Russia too were to comply with its provisions. But at any rate this issue is best of all settled by the Georgians and Abkhazians. Our interests here coincide fully. This is also the case with the conflict in Tskhinvali. I am ready at any point to sit down at the negotiation table. We are actively cooperating in this area with the United Nations and CSCE."

In Shevardnadze's words, Georgia's geopolitical position makes "any unilateral orientation" of its foreign policy impossible. "We have major treaties with Turkey and Iran, and vigorous dialogue is developing with European and American states. A treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual security has been concluded between Georgia and Azerbaijan. I am convinced that there will be a similar treaty with Armenia. I hope we shall manage to implement the idea of tripartite mechanism of consultations on a continuous basis. In the near future, a Georgian-Ukrainian summit will be held in Kiev, during which a package of important agreements will be signed." "It is a sad paradox that this chain has for such a long time lacked a strong Georgian-Russian link," he noted.

"The Caucasian ridge is not to divide us, but to unite us, and there should be no watershed in this vital political sector," he said, referring to relations with Georgia's North Caucasus neighbors.

Shevardnadze, Yeltsin Meeting Could Aid Relations

LD3103080993 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] The leader of Georgia, Eduard Shevardnadze, believes his meeting with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin could help normalize relations with Russia, which have aggravated lately. Speaking in Tbilisi, he said the basis of that should be an agreement concluded in September of last year when Russia pledged to be neutral in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and play a peacemaking role in settling it.

Refugees From Abkhazia Demand Immediate Evacuation

OW3003211293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1857 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A large group of Georgian refugees from Abkhazia gathered near the Georgian Parliament building in Tbilisi on Tuesday [30 March] to demand a decision on immediate evacuation of the Georgian population from Abkhazian-forces controlled territories. The refugees stated that 20 Georgian nationals were executed by firing squad in Gagri on Monday.

The deputies started debate on the issue at the evening sitting of the Parliament. The head of the Parliament Eduard Shevardnadze declared that a special group of deputies headed by the chairman of the Committee on Inter-ethnic Relations Aleksandr Kavsadze should leave for Sukhumi the next day to conduct direct negotiations with the Guadauta administration on exchange of POWs.

Shevardnadze Favors Refugee Exchange

LD3103100393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0904 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 31 Mar—The Georgian parliament discussed the problems of Georgians living in areas controlled by the Gudauta government. Deputies cited cases of harassment and the killing of Georgians by order of Gudauta authorities. Thus, Member of Parliament Geno Kalandia claimed that Abkhazians shot and killed 27 ethnic Georgians in Pitsunda following a failed attack on Sukhumi.

In this context, Eduard Shevardnadze said in his address that he allowed for the possibility of evacuating Georgians from the territories controlled by the Gudauta government, provided there will be an exchange on equal terms for ethnic Abkhazians. The head of the Georgian state said that a final decision on this matter lies with the Georgian Council of Nationalities, Security and Defense.

Abkhaz, Georgian 'Combatants' Begin 'Illegal Negotiations'

AU3003145093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1320 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] As can be seen, (?combatants) on the opposing sides in the Abkhaz war are laying the foundation for the process that politicians have been unable to begin.

As has become known from reliable sources, during the last few days, Abkhaz and Georgian combatants have begun illegal negotiations. It is significant that the Abkhaz combatants are acting in opposition to their own uncompromising political leaders. At the meetings between the opposing sides, the view was basically expressed that this war was senseless.

One has to hope that rank and file fighters will be able to influence the politicians in the near future.

Government-Abkhaz Fighting Continues in Ochamire Rayon

Georgians Suffer 'No Casualties' in Labra

AU3003135493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1320 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Ochamchire. There were positional battles in Ochamchire rayon yesterday evening, this morning, and, one can say, throughout the afternoon. Georgian Army formations made advances and captured the village of Labra. There were no casualties on the Georgian side.

Abkhaz Suffers 'Big Losses'

AU3103090793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Here is information from Abkhazia that we received this morning. We spoke with Zviad Mirgatia, employee at the press center of the Main Staff of the Georgian Armed Forces in Sukhumi.

[Begin Mirgatia recording] On 30 March, it remained quiet in the main at the River Gumista. The same situation prevailed during the night and, at the moment, there are no active military actions. Only infrequent enemy submachine gun fire can be heard is mainly of a provocative nature.

As regards Ochamchire rayon, battles continued throughout the whole day in the village of Labra. The enemy tried furiously to regain the strategic positions they had lost the previous day but without success. Units of the Georgian National Guard located there repulsed the enemy attacks and gradually advanced forward through counterattacks. The village has practically been taken by Georgian Armed Forces. There only remain small [enemy] groups who continue to be destroyed and neutralized.

It is significant that, as we have been informed, it has become possible to begin work on restoring electric power in the village of Labra.

During the battles in Labra, the enemy suffered big losses in dead and wounded: Our side saw up to 25 casualties. There are in total four wounded fighters on the Georgian side.

That is the situation at the moment. [end recording]

Government Troops Launch New Offensive

LD3103094993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0845 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar—Last night, Georgian troops subjected villages along the Georgian-Abkhaz confrontation line to intensive shelling. The aim of the attack became clear in the morning: Georgian government troops began an offensive in the direction of Labra and Merkula villages. Positional fighting continued today in other parts of the conflict zone. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told this at the press service of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet.

Further on Attack by Government

OW3103112793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1028 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Conflicting reports are coming in about combat operations between Georgian and Abkhazian formations in Abkhazia's Ochamchire region. The Georgian Defense Ministry's press center reports that Georgian troops almost completely occupied the village of Labra on Tuesday [30 March]. The motorway linking Sukhumi and Ochamchire, and the power line sending electricity to the Abkhazian capital run near this village.

Meanwhile, the Abkhazian Defense Ministry has not sent out any reports about any tactical changes near the village of Labra, where fighting continued on Wednesday [31 March]. Besides that, according to sources in Gudauta, Georgian units attempted to launch an offensive near the village of Bediya. All their attempts failed.

The night March 31 was relatively calm along the frontline on the Gumista river near Sukhumi.

Government Troops 'Regrouping'

LD3103122993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1110 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 31 Mar—Georgian troops have restored their defense system and have carried out a regrouping of forces toward Sukhumi, an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told today at the Sochi headquarters of Abkhaz refugees with reference to the press-service of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet.

In the Ochamchire area, Georgian formations started a large-scale offensive toward the settlement of Bedia yesterday but were stopped and pushed back at the initial position. During the night, Georgian troops shelled populated areas of Ochamchirskiy Rayon, and this morning they started a new offensive on the settlements of Labra and Merkula.

'Hostilities Worsened' in Ochamchire

LD3103130093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1112 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 31 Mar—The situation in the Ochamchire zone of hostilities worsened today. An ITAR-TASS correspondent learned about this from well-informed sources in Sukhumi. The Abkhaz side tried to recapture positions it lost the previous day. The units of the Georgian National Guard stationed there not only repelled the Abkhaz armed formations' attacks but also, by counter-attacking, gradually recovered positions held by Abkhaz forces.

Thus, according to reports from Georgian sources, a considerable part of the territory adjacent to the central motor road was liberated. Teams of power engineers have an opportunity to restore the Ochamchire-Sukhumi high-voltage power line.

A report from the Sochi headquarters of Abkhaz refugees confirms that Georgian formations have stepped up their actions in the area of the Labra settlement and the Nuaarkhu height. According to the Abkhaz side, the flow of refugees from Sukhumi along the Sukhumi-Ochamchire route has not diminished.

Parliament Overrules Government Measure on CIS Troops

PM2603151393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 93 p 1

[Petr Karapetyan report under "From Our Information Bureau" rubric: "'Contract Servicemen' From CIS Army Will No Longer Serve in Georgia"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Under a submission by Shalva Natelashvili, chairman of the Georgian parliament Juridical Commission, the republic's parliament has decided to abolish the statute on the procedure for the performance of military service on a contract basis by former servicemen from the Russian Federation and other former USSR republics in the Republic of Georgia.

This decree was ratified by the cabinet of the republic's government 26 February 1993, but a month later parliament ruled that it does not conform with existing legislation.

Chikvaidze, Iranian Charge d'Affairs Discuss 'Close Ties'

AU3003063793 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 25 Mar 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] **On 24 March, Aleksandr Chikvaidze, Republic of Georgia minister of foreign affairs, received Feridin Haqbin [as published], Iran's temporary charge d'affairs in Georgia.**

The conversation focused on questions of mutual interest for both sides. First and foremost, they discussed the question of the visit to Georgia of Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati that, according to previous negotiations, should take place during the first half of April.

The sides pointed out the great importance of the visit to Iran of the Georgian delegation and the meetings between Iranian President Rafsanjani and Georgian Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze, which would contribute to the establishment of normal good neighborly relations between the two states and mutually advantageous cooperation. They discussed ways of implementing the programs provided for in the documents that were signed in Iran.

The sides came to the conclusion that an important aspect of Iranian-Georgian relations would be the establishment of close ties between the ministries of foreign affairs.

Haqbin presented to Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] A. Chikvaidze a letter of recommendation from Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati that confirmed the powers of Haqbin in Georgia.

Haqbin declared to the minister that Iran supported the territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of Georgia.

Estonia

Defense Minister Says U.S. May Raise Russian Withdrawal Issue

OW3103123893 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1226 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The U.S. is likely to raise the issue of the Russian troops pullout from the Baltic countries during the U.S.-Russian summit in Vancouver on April 3-4, Estonian Defense Minister Hain Rebas said at a press conference on Tuesday [30 March] night following his return from Brussels where he attended the conference of the NATO defense ministers.

In the words of Mr Rebas, during their discussions with Russia's Defense Minister Pavel Grachev in the corridors of the NATO conference, U.S. representatives gave him to understand that the issue of the Russian troops pullout from the Baltic countries will most probably be raised at the summit in Vancouver.

As is known, General Grachev announced in Brussels on Monday that withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia had been suspended.

Mr Rebas noted that "the U.S. representatives clearly indicated that Russia's tough stance in that regard was unwarranted."

"General Grachev intimated, however, that he was addressing his words to the Russian audience," Rebas said.

Prime Minister Advises Taking Grachev Statement Seriously

OW3003173593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1626 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar believes that it is necessary to seriously consider the statement of the Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev about suspension of forces withdrawal from the Baltic state.

In his interview with Baltfax Laar said: "Earlier Russia has already voiced identical statements, nevertheless the process of forces withdrawal was continuing." The Premier views the present statement as "a reflection of inter-political struggle in Russia" and believes that "it deserves more serious consideration than the previous ones."

As it is known, saying that "Russia has failed to conclude agreements on principles, conditions, and the schedule of forces withdrawal from the Baltic states and agreements on social protection of servicemen," on Monday [30 March] Pavel Grachev declared about suspension in forces withdrawal from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania at the conference of the NACC [North Atlantic Cooperation Council] held in Brussels.

According to Laar, Russia is actually deviating from discussing problems related to withdrawal of its forces at the Russian-Estonian inter-state negotiations. Laar says that Russia is toughening its position and Estonia cannot make any concessions.

Laar: 'No Room for Compliance' on Moscow Stand

WS3103094293 Tallinn BNS in English 1955 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Tallinn, Mar 30, BNS—The position of Moscow at inter-state negotiations with Estonia have considerably stiffened. Estonia, however, has no room for compliances, Estonian Premier Mart Laar said.

"We would be able to achieve quick success at the talks, which is also the wish of the opposition, only if Estonia met Russia halfway, for example in border questions. The government is of the opinion that we cannot afford such compliances," Laar told BNS.

The Premier considered the next negotiations round scheduled to take place in Moscow on April 6-7, very important. After that, the government is going to discuss the course of the negotiations and analyze what could be achieved. "We do not hold it correct to break off negotiations, but everything is possible," Laar said.

The problem of handing over the hydrography equipment to Estonia well demonstrates Russia's present Estonian policy. The corresponding agreement has been paraphed [word as received] by the delegations but Russia refuses to sign it causing a dangerous situation in international navigation. "The situation must change," Laar said.

"We have no right to give in to Russia in matters of principle. The government has to proceed from the Constitution that sets certain limits for us," Laar said.

In Laar's opinion, the inner political unstability of Estonia and the unwillingness of certain forces to comply weaken Estonia's positions at the negotiations. "If Russia realizes it, the situation will become dangerous," Laar said.

"The attempts to declare the Estonian State Assembly an illegal power organ are even more dangerous. These attempts directly serve the interests of Russia," the Premier said.

Foreign Ministry Protests to Russia Over Smuggled Equipment

WS3103095993 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1712 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Tallinn, March 30—Estonia's Foreign Ministry has sent Russia a note of protest over an incident with Russian hydrography vessel "Kompass" which left Estonia without permission while smuggling out navigation equipment, Estonia's Prime Minister told a government briefing on Tuesday [30 March].

"We shall establish a commission which will start taking over hydrography equipment belonging to Estonia," Laar said.

On Friday, the Estonian Customs Board and Coast Guard stopped a Russian navy hydrography vessel upon smuggling 750 batteries of navigation lights and 20 tons of other equipment out of the country. The ship, however, left Estonia Saturday night while trying to overrun a coast guard vessel, EVA-007.

Estonia's seamarks and lighthouses have been a source of long- time controversy between the Estonian and Russian authorities. The Russian hydrographers have accused Estonia of refusing to pay for their services while Estonia has accused Russian hydrographers of damaging and dismantling navigation lights thus presenting a threat to international marine traffic in Estonian territorial waters.

An agreement upon turning all seamarks over to Estonia was initialed on December 17, 1992 at Estonian-Russian interstate negotiations, but has not been signed.

Under the agreement, seamarks should be turned over to Estonia by July 1, 1993.

Foreign Minister Questions Possible Russian Dual Policy

OW3003174493 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1626 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The statement of the Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on suspension of Russian forces withdrawal from the Baltic states contradicts to the obligations taken by Russia as a participant of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, the Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste reported to our Baltfax correspondent.

At the same time he pointed out that the statement of the Russian Defense Ministry's leader could be caused by the inter-political situation and oriented at the circles opposing the policy of the Russian-Estonian relations' normalization. To this effect he expressed the opinion that the Foreign and Defense Ministries are pursuing different policy. "I suppose that Pavel Grachev has voiced his statement without coordination with the Russian Foreign Ministry and it can primarily have an inter-political significance," said Velliste.

The Minister positively assessed "a sharp and definite" reaction of several western countries with respect to the Russian Defense Minister's statement.

Government Protests Removal of Hydrographic Equipment

OW3103130093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1227 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tuesday [30 March] evening Estonia's Foreign Ministry submitted to the Russian embassy in Tallinn a note, expressing strong protest against the removal of hydrographic equipment by Russian naval personnel.

Last Friday Russian sailors from the hydrographic ship "Kompas" took away several buoys, 750 navigation lights accumulators and 20 tons of other navigation equipment.

In its note Estonia's Foreign Ministry demands that the equipment in question be returned immediately.

The Foreign Ministry points to the fact that an agreement on transferring the property of the Russian hydrography service to Estonia has already been initialled. Estonia's government approved the agreement and authorized its minister of communications to sign it. On February 9, seeking to speed up the signing of the agreement, Estonia's government contacted Russian officials, but received no reply.

The removal of hydrographic equipment, the note stresses, creates a threat to the safety of navigation in Estonia's territorial waters.

On Tuesday the Estonian government discussed the action of Russia's naval personnel at its session.

Latvia

Jundzis, Grachev To Meet 'Soon' After NATO Session

WS3103094493 Tallinn BNS in English 0841 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Riga, Mar 30, BNS—Foreign Ministers Talavs Jundzis of Latvia and Pavel Grachev of Russia agreed to hold a meeting soon after the NATO session of foreign ministers in Brussels, Jundzis said during a press conference Tuesday [30 March].

Jundzis abstained from giving more detailed information on the anticipated meeting, saying the time, place and topics have to be clarified yet.

Commenting upon Grachov's statement at the Brussels session on the suspension of the troops' pullout from the Baltics, Jundzis said it might be connected with Russian intentions to receive more money from the West for building of homes for the returning troops.

Jundzis conceded that the statement might not affect the process of the troops' withdrawal from the Baltics. However, the situation, when there are no clearcut interstate agreements on troops' repatriation, may be considered extraordinary. It creates a real threat to the Baltics' independence, Jundzis added.

Defense Minister, Russian Counterpart Arrange Meeting

OW3103123693 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1226 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the recent conference of the NATO defense ministers in Brussels, the Latvian and Russian defense ministers reached an agreement in principle to hold a bilateral meeting in the near future. Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis announced this on Tuesday at a press conference dedicated to the results of the meeting.

The time and place of the meeting will be coordinated later, he said.

Commenting on the statement by Russia's Defense Minister Pavel Grachev who said that Russia was suspending its troops pullout from the Baltics, Jundzis suggested that General Grachev was just trying to procure more funds from the West to implement the housing projects for the officers withdrawn from that region.

He said he was sure the pullout of the Russian troops would be continued, adding, however, that the situation when the countries are not bound by any special agreement in that regard is "extraordinary" because it threatens independence in Latvia and the Baltic region as a whole.

Front Wants NATO To Introduce Forces

OW3103124393 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1226 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At its Monday [29 March] night session, leaders of Latvia's Popular Front adopted an appeal to the Latvian government demanding that it asks NATO and, probably, the UN to bring a UN Security Forces contingent to the republic to safeguard Latvia from a threat which may arise due to the recent developments in Russia.

A press release circulated by the Latvian Popular Front is reflective of the opinion of its leaders who contend that NATO and, probably the UN maintain the only armed forces in Europe capable of warding off an aggression from any side.

In the opinion of the Popular Front leaders, a threat of aggression may arise as a result of struggle for power between the pro-communist forces and President Yeltsin's supporters in Russia.

The Popular Front leaders also maintain that "if the communists restore their supremacy in Russia, they will primarily exert state and physical, rather than diplomatic or economic pressure on Latvia.

Supreme Soviet To Discuss Grachev's Statement 31 Mar

OW3003190493 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1758 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On March 30 at the plenary sitting of the Supreme Soviet the majority of deputies supported the proposal to discuss the situation due to the statement on interim suspension of the withdrawal of Russian forces from the Baltic states voiced by the Russian Minister Pavel Grachev.

To clarify the position of the Russian side, the adviser of the Russian Ambassador to Riga Valeriy Nesterushkin was invited to the Latvian Foreign Ministry on March 30. He had a conversation with the director of Latvian Foreign Ministry's eastern relations department Aivars Vovers who declared that according to the Latvian party, the statement of the Russian Minister does not correspond to the Russian Federation's related obligations to the United Nations Organization and the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In his turn, the Embassy's representative answered that according to the Russian side, Grachev's statement does not contradict the Decree of the Russian President Boris Yeltsin on an interim suspension of troops withdrawal form the Baltic states signed last year.

The press center of the Northern-Western Group of Russian forces reported to Baltfax on March 30 that the group of forces had not received any special instructions tied to the Minister's statement.

USSR Military Facilities Targeted for Demolition

PM3103102993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 2

[Modris Ziemins report under the rubric "From Our Information Bureau": "Latvia Compiles List of Military Facilities Liable for Demolition"]

[Text] Riga—The Bureau for Monitoring the Withdrawal of Troops which operates here under the Latvian Council of Ministers intends in the near future to hand to the command authority of the Northwestern Group of Forces a list of military facilities of the former USSR which, in the bureau's opinion, are liable to be dismantled and demolished.

The list of such facilities includes mainly buildings and installations situated in places where rocket troops subunits were formerly stationed. The Latvian side sets the condition that the land in these places should be fully recultivated.

Naval Forces Chief, Danish Ambassador Discuss Aid

WS3103094893 Riga LETA in English 1449 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Riga, March 30 (LETA)—Gaidis Zeibots, commander of the Latvian naval forces, and his deputy Janis Adamsons met with the Danish Ambassador Kirsten Maling [word indistinct] in the Defense Ministry here. Prospects of the future development of the Latvian naval forces were discussed during their meeting, as well as possibilities of Denmark to offer aid to the Latvian naval forces. Gaidis Zeibots briefed the Danish ambassador of the present situation in the process of formation of the naval forces of this country. He pointed out that the assistance was needed most in purchasing equipment and improving the training process of naval officers. An agreement was reached during the talks to hold a meeting of the commander of the Latvian naval forces and military attache of Denmark, which was likely to take place in early April. The Danish ambassador did not rule out a possibility that a meeting of officials of the Latvian naval forces and leadership of the Danish navy would be arranged in future.

Lithuania

Butkevicius Hopeful of 31 Aug Russian Army Withdrawal

OW3003190393 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1757 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Home Guard Minister Audrius Butkevicius expressed the hope that "it will be possible to withdraw the Russian army from Lithuania before August 31, the date envisaged by the Lithuanian-Russian treaty." The Minister voiced this statement on Tuesday [30 March] on his return from Brussels, where he participated at the meeting of NACC [North Atlantic Cooperation Council] Defense Ministers, to Vilnius.

Responding to journalists' questions, the leader of the Lithuanian Defense Ministry reported that speaking in the Belgian capital, the Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev voiced a statement about the suspension of the Russian-army withdrawal from the Baltic states. Pavel Grachev pointed to the absence of agreements with the Baltic states on the final withdrawal of the army as the major reason of this suspension.

Butkevicius noted the Russian Defense Minister's statement aroused a sharp reaction from the Defense Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, Norway, Iceland, and other countries.

Lithuania's Home Guard Minister reported that he had a conversation with Grachev following his statement and drew attention to the fact that Lithuania had already concluded a deposited treaty with Russia according to which Russia is obliged to withdraw its army from Lithuania's territory. In addition, Lithuania's decrees determine social guarantees for Russia's servicemen and there are no grounds to raise this issue.

Speaking about Lithuania's possible moves, as a counteraction to this statement, Butkevicius stressed the necessity to determine where the Russian party violates, by analogical statements as well, the international treaties, to inform the international organizations, and to act through the diplomatic channels.

Our Baltfax correspondent reports that on Tuesday evening the Home Guard Minister Butkevicius met with the Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas. A decision on an official reaction of the Lithuanian leadership to the Russian Defense Minister's statement will be adopted after this meeting.

Interviewed on Brussels Talks

LD3003155493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1335 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius returned to Vilnius today. Birute Vysniauskaite met him at the airport:

[Vysniauskaite] Lithuanian National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius returned to Vilnius today. He took part in a conference of foreign ministers of the central and east European states and of NATO which took place in Brussels. As is known, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said at the conference that the pullout of troops from the Baltic states has been suspended.

Commenting on this statement, Audrius Butkevicius said that this was the first public statement by the Russian representative that the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic has been suspended. The reason given was that the Baltic states did not have agreements on the final withdrawal of the troops.

Immediately after the statement Audrius Butkevicius met with Pavel Grachev and explained to him that Lithuania has agreements with Russia under which obligations were undertaken by Russia to withdraw the troops and that this agreement has been desposited [deponuoti].

Second, we have defined the social guarantees of the Russian servicemen by the laws of our state. Therefore, there are no grounds to raise this problem again.

There is no doubt that this statement by Pavel Grachev was coordinated with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Speaking about the meeting with the Russian defense minister, Audrius Butkevicius said:

[Begin recording] [Butkevicius] We discussed the situation with regard to the withdrawal of the Russian troops, and without elaborating too much I can say that I am optimistic and I think that the Russian troops will actually be withdrawn by 31 August.

Our colleagues from the United States, British Defense Minister Rifkind, Norwegian Defense Minister Holst, and the Icelandic defense minister also reacted. It must be said that the Russian stand is changing. However, this is not new. This change took place about five months ago and we put this change on record. It has been presented to parliament in the report-back by the negotiation delegation with Russia. Now we have clearcut statements by the Russian leaders.

However, two policies should be separated and that is the policy which is being expressed and the practical policy which is being carried out. Therefore, I would like to say again that I am optimistic and I believe that we will manage to have the Russian troops withdrawn by 31 August.

First of all it must be clearly established which international agreements have been violated and to inform those international organizations of which both Lithuania and Russia are members, and the resolutions which have been violated by the above statement.

Third [as heard], there are a number of diplomatic channels through which actions can be taken in Russia and we are already doing this and we will continue to do this. I hope we will succeed.

[Vysniauskaite] Is it true that you are to meet with Ambassador Obertyshev today? And are you not intending to go to Moscow?

[Butkevicius] I will meet with President Brazauskas when I come back, and probably I will meet with the ambassador. My visit to Moscow will depend on the sittings held to discuss the results of these meetings.

[Vysniauskaite] What can you say about the results of the NATO conference?

[Butkevicius] A wide range of issues were discussed. We talked about forms of possible cooperation. There is military cooperation among the ministries of defense and bilateral cooperation, and, what has exceptional importance is cooperation in the setting up of peacekeeping forces in Europe. Lithuania is indeed interested in the existence of such peacekeeping forces in our country so that we can become a part of these forces. [Words indistinct] this could be our very first step toward integration not only into the European economic structures but also into the structures of security and defense as well. [end recording]

Further Butkevicius Remarks

LD3103133893 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Report by Birute Vysniauskaite]

[Text] Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius held bilateral meetings in Brussels with the U.S. deputy defense secretary. He promised to present the Lithuanian stance to President Bill Clinton so that he can inform Russian President Boris Yeltsin about them during their meeting in Vancouver.

Butkevicius also had meetings with the foreign ministers of Norway, Great Britain, Canada, and Germany. The list of Lithuania's problems was presented to all of them.

The Western states can see that the withdrawal of Russian troops is the litmus test indicating how the processes in Russia are proceeding.

Should this statement be seen as pressure on Lithuania? Audrius Butkevicius said pressure on Lithuania and the Baltic states is natural, however, the pressure is also directed toward Eastern Europe and the NATO states as well.

A statement was issued yesterday by the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry and a note has already been prepared asking the Russian Foreign Ministry to explain the situation. Actions with Estonia and Latvia are being coordinated.

This is what Audrius Butkevicius told Lithuanian Radio after the news conference:

[Begin recording] [Vysniauskaite] Esteemed minister, the impression given by your news conference is that you are voicing purely your personal position. What is the position adopted by our state?

[Butkevicius] At the news conference I was presenting the stance of the state. However, I am pleased that you found it rather like my personal view. In fact, this is a coordinated stance which was adopted while discussing the above issues.

[Vysniauskaite] According to Mr. Kavaliauskas, our president said yesterday that Mr. Grachev's statement is linked with the situation in Russia and with the referendum which is due in April. As an experienced negotiator with Russia, do you think Lithuania currently has enough connections and measures to change our situation or to help our situation if Yeltsin loses the referendum?

[Butkevicius] One can never say whether there are enough connections, measures, and possibilities available. What I can say, however, is that we have more of them today than ever before. [end recording]

Official Doubts Timely Withdrawal

OW3003192193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1626 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Colonel Stasys Knezys, a representative of the Lithuanian government in charge of Russian forces withdrawal, is not sure if Russia will completely leave Lithuania before August 31, 1993, in accordance with the schedule agreed to by the parties, after the statement of the Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on suspension of forces withdrawal.

Knezys told Baltfax that he still has no information concerning implementation of Grachev's statement. At the same time he pointed out that at least a week is needed to see the first signs of a reaction "to the new position of the Russian Defense Ministry" on the part of forces stationed in Lithuania.

Ukrainian Foreign Ministry Delegation Discusses Treaty

OW2803192493 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1551 GMT 28 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During its visit to Lithuania, a Ukrainian foreign ministry's delegation discussed the pace of drafting a bilateral friendship and cooperation treaty, an agreement on ethnic minorities and ways to open a Ukrainian embassy in Lithuania. The delegation completed its visit on Friday [26 March].

Its leader, the ambassador for special affairs Ozadovskiy has declared in Vilnius that relations between Ukraine and Lithuania "have never been marred by any differences". He noted that relations with the Baltic countries "got priority in Ukraine's foreign policy".

During the visit Mr. Ozadovskiy held talks with the Lithuanian foreign minister Povilas Oylys and the Seimas chairman Ceslovas Jursenas.

Ukraine's charge d'affaires is expected in Lithuania next month for talks on a building for that republic's embassy in Vilnius.

Prime Minister Visits Klaipeda, Discusses Problems

WS3103095593 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1350 GMT 30 Mar 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 216]

[Text] On March 27 the Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius visited Klaipeda. He was received by the Chairman of the Klaipeda Town Council Vytautas Cepas, the Mayor of the town Benediktas Petrauskas and other town's officials. The Prime Minister was informed about the main economic and social problems of the sea port.

Adolfas Slezevicius visited the state fishery enterprise "Jura", he met with its Director General Antanas Norvaisas. The Director mentioned the main reasons of the poor economic condition of the enterprise—big interest rates for credits, weak support of the Government, a number of commissions which control and regulate the enterprise's activity, etc. Though the enterprise itself lacks competence and good organization.

Prime Minister offered to make radical solutions and to start the reconstruction and reforming of the enterprise from its top management. The present heads of the enterprise "Jura" do not have any concrete ideas of projects on the future strategy and the improvement of the enterprise's work.

Prime Minister visited the alternative territories for the construction of the oil terminal, met with heads of various industrial enterprises and companies of Klaipeda.

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